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WORMSLOE

Two Centuries of a Georgia Family

by

E. MERTON COULTER

WORMSLOE FOUNDATION PUBLICATIONS

NUMBER ONE

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From a photograph of the portrait by Gari Melchers.

WYMBERLEY JONES DE RENNE

WORMSLOE

Two Centuries of a Georgia Family

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To the Memory of

WYMBERLEY JONES DE RENNE

1853–1916

Explanation of End Papers

The avenue on the right runs from the entrance on the Savannah Road to Fort Wimberley (Jones's Fort) on Jones Narrows. The road near the center cutting across this avenue leads to Wormsloe House on the left and to the boat landing beyond. The darker parts of the sketch are the lands of the Wormsloe estate, the darkest being woodlands and the next darker, the fields. The drawing for the endpapers was made by Christopher Murphy, Jr., of Savannah.

Foreword

THE Wormsloe Foundation is a non-profit corporation chartered on December 18, 1951 by the Superior Court of Chatham County, Georgia. In the words of its charter, it has been organized "for the study and development of agriculture, horticulture and forestry in the State of Georgia, or any other State, and to promote and further historical research in this State and elsewhere." It also has "for its purpose the preservation and maintenance of historical sites and documents."

Among the first of the Foundation's activities is the publication of the present volume, which gives the historical background of the Wormsloe estate and of the family which has owned it for more than two hundred years. A series of works is contemplated, to be brought out under the title, WORMSLOE FOUNDATION PUBLICATIONS, of which this volume is the first. They will be largely important manuscripts relating to Georgia and the South. The next two volumes in this series will be the completion of the publication of the Journal of William Stephens. As the Trustees' secretary for the Colony of Georgia, Stephens began a Journal in 1737, a few days before reaching Savannah, which he continued to the end of 1745. This Journal down to October 28, 1741 was published in 1742 in three volumes by the Trustees in London, and was reprinted in the *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia,* Volume IV (1906) and Supplement to Volume IV (1908).

Until recently it seems not to have been known or even suspected that Stephens had continued his Journal beyond the date where the third volume left off; but in 1946 the famous Phillipps Collection of manuscripts in England which had grad-

ually been disintegrating through sales for many years yielded up to a London dealer the Egmont Manuscripts, and among these was discovered a continuation of Stephens' Journal down to December 31, 1745. The Egmont Manuscripts were acquired by the University of Georgia Library, and this continuation of the Journal will be published as volumes of the WORMSLOE FOUNDATION PUBLICATIONS.

E. M. C.

Preface

Books have floated into print down the currents of rivers; books have been launched around the shorelines of lakes; this book flows out of the blood stream of six generations of a family in Georgia. It may seem that some of the river books wandered away from their valleys and some of the lake books, from their watersheds. It is hoped that this book may not seem to have gone too far away from its family.

Nothing can exist in a vacuum, nor is a subject without a background or out of its habitat to be properly appreciated or even understood at all. If Noble Jones should seem at times to be neglected while the growth of the colony of Georgia is being detailed, it must be remembered that he was himself playing an important part in that growth. A tree cannot be properly described without some note being taken of its fruit. On the other hand, if someone should like a fuller description of the economy and methods prevailing on George Jones's plantations, there are plantation studies aplenty awaiting the reader, both on Georgia and the South as a whole. And also it might be said that plantation records in this particular instance were not to be had, and probably there never were many, as George Jones did not make planting his chief interest.

This book deals with a family which is as old in America as is Georgia, for its head came with James Edward Oglethorpe to found the colony. For three generations, extending through a hundred years, it gave public service to the colony and state; for the next hundred years and more, extending over the following three generations, it devoted its attention to history, the collection of Georgiana, and to other literary activities. The

first head of this family in America was Noble Jones. His great-grandson changed the family name to De Renne, separating it as here written, but the subsequent generations have not done so uniformly. The name will be uniform in this book, spelled De Renne, except when in quotations. Wimberly, as a given name, came into the family in the second generation and continued as a traditional family name, but the spelling was soon changed to Wymberley. Out of respect for Noble Wimberly Jones, who first bore it in America, whenever it is applied to him, it will be spelled as he spelled it. Elsewhere it will be spelled in the amended form. Wormsloe, the county seat, as spelled here, varied at times into Wormslow.

As families grow, like trees they send out various branches. That branch of this family will be followed here which in succession fell heir to Wormsloe, originally developed by Noble Jones. In every instance Wormsloe followed the eldest branch, according to the laws of primogeniture, except with the beginning of the fourth generation when the eldest son died before his father but left male offspring. In this instance Wormsloe went to a surviving son instead of the grandson.

Although this family is identified with a plantation, this book is not a plantation study. Wormsloe was never primarily an agricultural establishment run for revenue, but rather a country residence with planting either secondary or not at all. The Joneses and De Rennes were not an agricultural family in the plantation tradition, but rather a family for the first hundred years identified with officeholding tinged with planting interests, and with medicine, and for the next hundred years interested in intellectual activities, with their focal center about as much in Philadelphia as at Wormsloe. But there was always a sentimental attachment to Wormsloe, the traditional seat of the family.

Although the family was conscious of its historical traditions and origins in England, for the first hundred years it gave little attention to its records and archives, and many of those which came down to and extended almost through the second generation were lost in a fire which burned the home of Noble

Wimberly Jones near the end of the eighteenth century. Other records were destroyed in the conflagration of the Civil War. George Wymberley Jones De Renne was the first of the family to become vitally conscious of family history and background, but of the early family records there was little for him to garner and preserve. From his time on, some archives accumulated, which, however, were not available for this study. The bibliography appended to this work gives the sources of information from which this narrative was constructed.

E. M. C.

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Entrance to Wormsloe

Mile-long Avenue of Live Oaks

Approach to Wormsloe House

Wormsloe House

Morning Sunlight in the Walled Gardens

Looking Toward Skidaway Island

A Vista Leading to the Old Avenue

The Old Avenue

The portraits of Noble Wimberly Jones and George Jones are owned by Mrs. Craig Barrow and are at Wormsloe. The photographs following page 256 were taken by Carroll Burke of Savannah.

CHAPTER I

The Founding of a Colony and a Family in Georgia

THERE were stirrings in and around London in the summer and fall of 1732 and to a lesser extent throughout all England. The English were about to found another colony in America. On June 20 of that year King George II had granted a charter for this colony, called Georgia, to twenty-one Trustees, men of the highest standing, who were entrusted with the undertaking of planting a new settlement in territory west and south of the Savannah River, which had previously been a part of South Carolina.

This colony was to be different from any other that the British had ever set up in America or elsewhere, in its origin, in the purposes it was to serve, in its form of government, and in its development. So varied were the characteristics of this new venture that it attracted the interest and attention of almost everyone. The immediate force which precipitated the movement was the desire on the part of certain humanitarian leaders such as Thomas Bray and his associates, Lord John Percival (First Earl of Egmont) and James Edward Oglethorpe, to relieve the congestion and poverty in London, by giving the unfortunate people there an opportunity to start life anew beyond the seas—in the words of Egmont, "to provide for the necessitous poor of our country, and not to make men of substance richer." [1]

Another force of almost equal importance and of much longer standing was the determination of Great Britain to put a stop to Spanish expansion up the Atlantic coast into South Carolina, thus, paying heed at last to the pleas of the South Carolinians.

Georgia was, therefore, to be as much a buffer colony against the Spaniards, as a social experiment giving new opportunities to Englishmen. There was an additional purpose that this colony would serve, which would enlist the strong support of the mercantile class in England and imperialists throughout the land: The Georgians would produce silks and wines and thereby relieve the British from importing these products and enriching Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Italians; and likewise the Georgians would provide ship timbers and naval stores to make England still more powerful on the seas. And finally a purpose would also be served somewhat akin to the first one: Georgia would be a refuge for poor foreigners who were being persecuted for their religious beliefs.

There were good reasons, therefore, for people to be interested in Georgia, to go there to help oneself, to go there to help others, or to stay in England and help by giving whatever would further one's chief interest in the venture—prayer books and Bibles; swords and drums; vines, shrubs, seeds, and agricultural implements; and money. There was plenty of all of this happening in England in the summer and fall of 1732 and for some few years thereafter.

There were other preparations necessary for the first expedition which should go out to Georgia. Settlers must be had, and what was even more important, the proper kind. The Trustees set up a committee to examine all who wanted to start life anew in Georgia and to determine the fitness of those who should be allowed to go. As the Trustees would pay the expenses of the colonists for at least a year and would give them land free, it was very necessary that only honest and upright people be chosen. If some of those selected might have been in prison for debt, there should be no stigma attached to that, for through ill luck and the misfortunes of trade, some of the best people in England had fallen into debt and been imprisoned. Oglethorpe's attention had been directed toward debtor prisons by the plight of one of his friends there, and as a member of Parliament, Oglethorpe had investigated these prisons and caused the release of a great many prisoners. The hard lot of those released had whetted

the General's desire to set up a new colony where they might begin life anew; but it turned out that so many indigent Englishmen who had never been in prison were able to promote their cases successfully before the Trustees' committee only a few debtors were ever selected to go to Georgia—probably not more than a dozen.[2]

Oglethorpe was greatly interested in the preparations being made for the first expedition. Being a man of action, and a warrior at that, as he had proved when a soldier under Prince Eugene, as well as being a humanitarian, as he had shown in Parliament, he assumed personal responsibility for the first group of colonists. So intensely did he hope for success both in rehabilitating the settlers and in driving back the Spaniards that he determined to accompany the expedition to Georgia and take control of the colony. The Trustees expected that he would stay only long enough to settle the colonists, but circumstances there led him to stay for ten years.

On the ship *Anne,* which set sail from Gravesend on November 16, 1732, were Oglethorpe and 114 colonists—men, women, and children. Among those passengers were Noble Jones, his wife Sarah, his son Noble Wimberly, and his daughter Mary.[3] Noble Jones had been born in Lambeth, his ancestral home, a village in the County of Surrey, on the south side of the Thames across from Westminster. Both Lambeth and Westminster became later a part of the Metropolitan Police District of London. His name would indicate and tradition holds that the family originally came from Wales.[4] He practiced medicine—was "bred to the profession of Physic," as the archaic writers put it [5]—but he was also a skillful carpenter. In Georgia he bore the reputation of "being a good Mechanick, having pretty good Skill in Architecture, as well as being conversant in the Manner of Scaffolding, in Use at the publick Work about Westminster-Abbey." [6]

Oglethorpe, who was about three years older than Jones, had known him for some time, probably from boyhood, for Oglethorpe had been born in London, and the family home was at Godalming, a village in Surrey not far from Lambeth. The Ogle-

thorpes, however, were an old Yorkshire family, dating back to William the Conqueror. James Edward Oglethorpe's father had bought the estate at Godalming and moved there.[7] It was only natural then that Oglethorpe should want so valuable a man and friend as Jones to go with him to Georgia.[8] As a further inducement, before the ship sailed the Trustees on November 2 made Jones one of the officials for governing Georgia; they also allowed him to take two servants with him. Jones, like Oglethorpe, originally intended to spend only a short time in Georgia and then return, and at first he had not planned to take his family with him. The fact that Jones had a family and took it with him and that Oglethorpe was unmarried may have led the one to remain in Georgia and the other to return permanently following a decade there.

After a voyage of almost two months, the *Anne* arrived off Charleston harbor on January 24, 1733 (January 13, 1732, Old Style calendar) and remained here only a short time before proceeding on down the coast to Beaufort, where the settlers were to stay until a suitable location in Georgia could be found for them. Oglethorpe left the ship at Beaufort, and guided by helpful and friendly South Carolinians he went down the inside passage in a small boat to the Savannah River, up which he proceeded until he reached the first high ground, at Yamacraw Bluff. This was the spot that would first be Georgia, and it was given the name Savannah. News of this location was sent to the colonists, who arrived February 12, 1733 (February 1, 1732 Old Style, and it was February 1 that the early Georgians long celebrated as their birthday, though subsequent generations were to celebrate February 12).[9]

The town was laid out in one square, with a regular progression of squares to be developed as the population expanded. Each colonist was given a town lot sixty by ninety feet on which he must build within eighteen months a brick or framed house at least sixteen by twenty-four feet and eight feet high. Nearby he should have five acres for a garden, and farther away he was given a farm of nearly forty-five acres—enough to make his total land holdings amount to fifty acres. After ten years he must pay

to the Trustees two shillings as annual rental. Also within ten years he must clear and cultivate at least ten acres and plant on it one hundred white mulberry trees and fence it to "preserve the same from the bite of Cattle." He was not allowed to sell his land or alienate or transfer it in any manner, and at his death it should descend to his eldest son. A daughter could not inherit it; and if he died without an heir the land reverted to the Trustees. Furthermore he must not be guilty of any serious crime such as treason, murder, counterfeiting, or rape; and without the consent of the Trustees he must not "hire, keep, lodge, board, or employ" any person as a slave. The penalty for violating any of these prohibitions was the loss of his land.[10]

In July Oglethorpe distributed the lots and at the same time announced that he had divided the town into four wards and each ward into four tithings. He gave to all of them names of prominent Englishmen who were friends of Georgia. Noble Jones received lot 41 in Decker's Ward and in Carpenter Tything. This ward was named for Sir Matthew Decker, who was a benefactor of Georgia, and the tithing for George, Lord Carpenter, one of the Trustees.

These regulations of the Trustees were well in keeping with the purposes which Georgia was designed to serve. By compact settlement of the population in towns with their small outlying farms, the colony would be made strong against Spanish attacks. Likewise an effective military population would be developed by the system of small holdings and by the rule that no woman might inherit land. A double purpose would be served in the prohibition of slaves: There would be no danger of servile insurrection in war as well as in time of peace; and the colonists would not have their moral and muscular fibers weakened by being allowed to lord it over other human beings and live without work. The planting of mulberry trees would insure a supply of food for silkworms, which, it was believed, would free England from dependence on foreign countries for silk.

The regulation against slavery in Georgia was enacted by the Trustees into a law, which was approved by King George II in 1735. This year the King also approved two other laws of the

Trustees, designed to strengthen this great social experiment, this Utopia, which they were building in Georgia. One of these laws prohibited the sale or consumption of rum or other strong spirituous liquors, such as gin—but not wine and beer. The other was designed to maintain peace and good will with the Indians by a rigid regulation of the traders who were allowed to go among them. Prominent in the background leading to passing this law was the desire to prevent rum from being sold to the red men, a practice of which South Carolinians as well as French and Spanish traders were guilty.

As passage across the Atlantic was paid by the Trustees and maintenance for at least one year in Georgia was likewise provided, a steady stream of colonists, mostly from London and its outlying districts, kept up. Soon new settlements arose near Savannah, such as High-Gate, Hamstead, Thunderbolt, Joseph's-Town, and Abercorn; and other towns arose farther away, destined for longer life and greater importance, such as Augusta, Ebenezer, New Inverness (Darien), and Frederica. And the more enterprising newcomers began setting up plantations along the coast and on the sea islands. These large plantations were made possible by the fact that the Trustees allowed landholdings as large as 500 acres to anyone who came to Georgia at his own expense and brought along ten servants.

In addition to the English colonists, there were special groups who made their way to Georgia, enticed and aided by Oglethorpe and the other Trustees. Thus came Germans who had suffered religious persecution and been driven from their homes in Salzburg; also Moravians, originally from Bohemia, likewise dispersed for religious reasons, arrived but not to stay long; and Scotch Highlanders from around Inverness came and settled to the southward of Savannah, where they might the more handily oppose the Spaniards. Years later, after the Trustees had given up Georgia, a group of Puritans from South Carolina came and settled at Midway, halfway between Savannah and Darien, and became a vast influence in the development of the colony and state.

But Savannah, the first settlement, was to grow and thrive

and become the heart of colonial Georgia. When the settlers first landed, this region was one vast forest of tall stately pines, out of which was chopped the site on which Savannah grew up. How this settlement looked a year after the landing, Peter Gordon, who came on the first ship, graphically showed in his famous drawing. Another original settler a little later described it in words telling how each owner of a lot set to work, "So that there is few Town Lotts but what are built or are building. The Town is greatly Encreased so that whereas at first I could hardly see any thing but Trees, I can now scarce see any Trees for the Houses." [11] And another enthusiastic settler, who could not forget the trees and houses, wrote back to England a few months later, thanking God that "our Town is in very good health, and increases mightily; For that Place which was nothing but Pine Trees when we came, is become almost as many Houses; and though Williamsburgh (which is the Metropolis of Virginia) hath been settled near a hundred years yet we Exceed them in number of Houses; though not our Buildings quite so magnificent." [12] But not all of those stately pines, so much in the consciousness of the early Georgians, were hewn down to make way for Savannah. Four were left near the river bluff under which Oglethorpe pitched his tent and in which he lived for about a year—he liked to sleep in a tent and to bivouac out in the woods. These trees were left as a memorial to the intrepid Oglethorpe, but a few years later a terrific thunderstorm swept over Savannah and a bolt of lightning demolished these sentinels.

Yet with all this progress of cutting down trees and building houses, of peoples widely scattered swarming to Georgia, of the ideal utopian life planned by the charitable and humanitarian Trustees for the good of Georgians, there were soon heard the murmuring voices of the discontented. They said good people had been fooled into coming to Georgia. It was not the Garden of Eden which it had been represented to be. The climate was hot, enervating, and unhealthful; people were dying almost as fast as they arrived. The soil was either sandy and barren or covered with such a thick growth of underbrush as to make

clearing it almost impossible—*without the aid of slaves.* No produce for trade and general prosperity could be grown in Georgia as long as the Trustees senselessly tried to promote silk and wine and other exotic crops. The limitation of land to fifty acres for charity settlers and to five hundred acres to adventurers and the prohibition against the disposal of this land and against its inheritance by a woman, killed all initiative of the people to go forward. Georgians were deprived of rum, probably to prevent them from drowning their sorrows over their dismal prospect—or as the Malcontents, a name given to these discontented people, put it, "Thus have you Protected us from ourselves . . . by keeping all Earthly Comforts from us." [13] But the worst of all these utopian plans of the Trustees was the prohibition of slavery.

These Malcontents were soon writing back to England, telling what a miserable situation prevailed in Georgia. Disagreeing with earlier glowing reports of how fast Savannah was growing, John Fallowfield, a petty judge and a neighbor of Noble Jones, wrote the Trustees in 1741, "I am sorry to tell your Honours there are but very few people left. The Town is full of Buildings but thin of Inhabitants, three houses are empty through the Town for one that has a Family in it." [14] Another wrote to one of the Trustee officials in England that he longed "very much to get out of Savannah, for there are here human Snakes, much more dangerous than the Rattle ones." [15] Another Malcontent, who was even more ungrateful with less reason than any other, was Andrew Duché. He was an "industrious Potter," who came to Georgia and was aided by the Trustees to the extent of a mortar and pestle, forty pounds of "fine deep Smalt," fifty pounds of "Fine Tin Ingots," and forty-four bars of lead "to encourage You in the making of Porcelain or China Ware." [16] By 1743, most of the Malcontents had left Georgia, but according to the Earl of Egmont, "Woodrofe and Duchee the Potter outrageous Rascals are still there and as perverse as ever." [17]

But while the Malcontents were still here they especially resented the fact that they had been *"rhym'd* into their Ruin," [18] by an "Hundred Hackney Muses" [19] in deceptive praise of

Georgia and flattery of Oglethorpe. Some ringleaders of the Malcontents quit Georgia and went to Charleston where they published in 1741 a blistering attack on Oglethorpe and the other Trustees and asserted that conditions in Georgia could not be worse. Calling their book *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America,* they dedicated it in high sarcastic praise to Oglethorpe, confident "that Nothing we can advance will in the least shock Your Excellency's Modesty." [20] As these attacks reached their height of violence at the very time Georgia was at war against the Spaniards in Florida (1739–1743), the Malcontents could be accused of skirting near treason against Great Britain and Georgia. In petty meanness they recalled how Oglethorpe had boasted that he would take St. Augustine away from the Spaniards or leave his bones bleaching against the walls of that castle; but "he is now at *Frederica,* and, as we have too much Reason to believe, this Castle is still in the Hands of the Spaniards." [21] Thomas Stephens, a wayward son of William Stephens and a great disappointment to him, in a curious book which he wrote called *Castle-Builders,* declared that the "very Shadow of Liberty" had "fled before the General [Oglethorpe] and his Troops." [22] This was an attack on the head ruler of Georgia by the son of the man who was Oglethorpe's chief lieutenant and who was a most loyal servant of the Trustees.

The Salzburgers, the Scotch Highlanders, and the Moravians (for the short time they remained in Georgia) seemed to have been grateful enough for the opportunities the Trustees had provided for them in the New World; the Malcontents were made up almost entirely of Englishmen who had settled in Savannah. Despite their intemperate language and the ill-timing of their complaints, the Malcontents were sensible of the realities of making a living in Georgia and making the colony prosper, not by impractical idealism and high rhetoric retailed by the Georgia propagandists in England, but by the hard realities of life—by being wicked like the South Carolinians and like them having slaves, by owning land to keep or sell as they pleased, and by raising the ordinary articles of commerce.

Noble Jones was a practical man who was not personally hostile to the Malcontents and yet his loyalty to the Trustees prevented him from joining these dissenters. In 1740 he and twenty-four others signed a defense of the Trustees' regime in Georgia and a description of the province, which was published in a booklet in 1742, under the title *A State of the Province of Georgia, Attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740.* Here they discussed the topography of the country, the occupations of the people, the crops they raised, the towns, the villages, plantations, and forts, and gave an estimate of the social and economic conditions. Making their report as glowing as their consciences permitted, they admitted that the choice of settlers to be sent to Georgia was not always the best because too many city people, unused to agricultural conditions, had come. They recommended that more people from the countryside of England and Wales should be sent. Also they admitted that a good many people had left Georgia—and it was a good riddance—for those who remained "have by their Industry proved that they deserved better, and have thriven; many also shewed they were brought into those Misfortunes by their own Faults; and when those who quitted their own Country to avoid Labour, saw Labour stand before their Eyes in *Georgia,* they were easily persuaded to live in *Carolina* by Cunning, rather than work." The ones who chose to stay in Georgia "are still a Body of the most valuable People, that find Means to live comfortably, some by their Trades, some by Planting, and raising live Stock, and some by their Labour, either by land or Water; and one of those remaining, are [*sic*] worth three that left us." [23]

By signing this paper, and possibly helping to compose it, Noble Jones set forth his fundamental position on the Georgia situation. But when some of the Malcontents, who considered Jones mildly on their side, asked him if he really thought Georgia could survive under the Trustees' plan, according to their version of the conversation he replied, "I am very Sensible our Scheme is Impractical, but we hope by asking Impossibilities, to oblige the Trustees, to Grant us what is Reasonable." [24]

Among those who claimed Jones made this remark was Patrick Tailfer, whom the Earl of Egmont described as a "proud saucy fellow and a Ringleader for allowance of Negroes & change of [land] tenure," adding that he went "away to Carolina for fear of the Spaniards." Another of Jones's accusers was David Douglass, whom Egmont called a "factious man: & went to Carolina for fear of the Spaniards." [25] These were two of the various authors of the *True and Historical Narrative,* the Malcontent literary blast.

William Stephens, the Trustees' secretary in Georgia, whose main duty it was to keep them informed on what was going on in their utopia, not only wrote them many letters but also meticulously kept a journal, which he sent to them at frequent intervals. Stephens, a former member of Parliament, was old, garrulous, and uncommonly inquisitive. He formed an opinion on everything and everybody and recorded in his hungry journal these opinions, all the gossip he could hear, and all things he observed—all for the enlightenment of the Trustees to whom he was as loyal as a human being could be. In mentioning a certain report, he remarked, "I am not fond to give too hasty Credit to all that I hear; but from diverse Circumstances attending it, I could not look on it as Idle Tale." [26] Having been feeding his voracious diary with the reports of many deaths, he remarked that these were "Sad Amusements; but at present I find little else to take notice of." [27] Now and then he had to reduce his quest for something to write the Trustees as he "had other Fish to Fry at home." [28] A year after Noble Jones had signed the report on the *State of the Province,* he was accused of having also signed some of the Malcontents' complaints, but Stephens was unconvinced as he thought " 'twould not be easy to find a Man who knows Noble Jones, that would think him so weak & silly." [29]

Such an inquisitive soul as Stephens could not help noticing what persons he saw associating with one another and speculating on what they must be talking about. In October 1742 Stephens saw together Noble Jones and Thomas Causton, a "calico printer" who had been the keeper of the Trustees' store in

Savannah until he was turned out for loose practices, and soon he noticed they were joined by Will Woodrofe, a "Haberdasher of Small wares," Andrew Duché, the potter, and Will Ewen, a "Basket maker," who formerly worked in the Trustees' store. Stephens observed that it had been a habit of theirs "for a while past, to Consult what means were proper for them to use, for accomplishing those ends they had in view—(whatever they were)." [30] How Stephens would have liked to know what these men were talking about! Egmont, who read this journal a little later when it was received in England, wrote in the journal he himself was keeping that "Noble Jones, Mr. Causton, Andrew Duchee, Will. Woodrofe & Will. Ewen were grown great together." [31]

Whatever Jones's associations with the Malcontents amounted to and whatever he discussed with them, he was not a Malcontent, as he proved by both word and deed. In addition to signing the *State of the Province* report, Jones later signed another affidavit in which he set forth "that the goodness of the Land of Georgia, is at least equal to, if not better than Carolina." [32] Many others came to the defense of the Trustees in their policies in Georgia. Benjamin Martyn, the Trustees' loyal and valuable secretary in England, in his pristine zeal over the first boatload of settlers leaving for Georgia, over-praised the wisdom of the Trustees and the goodness of the settlers when he said that the Trustees had "sent None but People inured to Labour; who are prepared for the hardships they must undergo, and are determined chearfully to support them. All of them likewise have the Character of Sober Industrious, and Moral Men." [33] Another apologist for the Trustees, a little more realistic after the first troubles in Georgia had developed, said that it could not be expected of the early settlers that they know how best to do in an unknown country and what kind of things to grow "untill experience taught them . . . more especially as there is no proportion of Skillful husbandmen among them, the greatest number by far being poor mechanicks and broken Shopkeepers, for the Trustees were very backward in sending over such hands as were most useful to their Mother Country."

Nevertheless, some of them did well, but others "proposing nothing more than to eat the bread of Idleness, have neglected to cultivate their grants, and are returned to be a fresh burthen on their Native Country." [34]

This friendly critic was correct, and without intending it, he bore out some of the complaints of the Malcontents. Out of the original 114 colonists who came over on the *Anne* there was only one person listed as "understands Farming," one, a "husbandman," and one, a gardener. The others were in such occupations as carpenters, traders, metal workers, wig makers, cloth workers, upholsterers, basket makers, wheel-wrights, potash makers, and tailors. There was one surgeon and one apothecary.[35] Of all those who came over at the expense of the Trustees from beginning to end only ten per cent were farmers. Of the original 114, more than a fourth died the first year in Georgia, and within the next ten years, of those who were left almost a fifth returned to England or went across the river into South Carolina.[36] But even so, these misfortunes were not unusual in English colonization. As Egmont pointed out, Virginia "broke 3 Sets of Adventurers before it succeeded, and was for 40 years of no profit to England." [37]

The Trustees were actuated by the highest expressions of human conscience in their plans for building a utopia in Georgia, and everyone seemed to recognize that fact except the Malcontents. Each year a distinguished English clergyman preached a sermon before the Trustees, in which he praised their undertaking, as did John Burton in 1733 when he said, "We are now sending forth into a distant and uncultivated Country a Number of Persons, that seem in a literal Sense to begin the World again." [38] And Thomas Causton seven years later, when he was under the displeasure of the Trustees, wrote them, "I am truly sensible, that the fundamental Reasons for Undertaking to Establish the Colony of Georgia, was to apply those Balsamick comforts, which the Afflicted groan for want of, and which Justice and Humanity, and Zeal for their generall welfare could inspire you with." [39]

But good intentions were not sufficient; only practical results

could count in a realistic world. And so the Trustees began to lift away, one by one, the stones that made up their beautiful utopian arch. First to go was the prohibition against rum. This was in 1742. For this reason as well as others, Stephens soon began to sense that Georgia was taking on new life and would "in a little more time lift up its head, and make as good a figure as other plantations do, in his Majestys Dominions in North America." He was confident that the Colony would "at length take root, and flourish." [40] Though rum was felt to be a necessary tonic in Georgia by almost everybody except Oglethorpe, who thoroughly detested it and its dire results, repealing the prohibition against it was not enough to make Georgia "take root, and flourish." Stephens himself was among those who believed this.

The greatest drawback to Georgia's prosperity was the lack of laborers. The scarcity of labor was a problem in all the British colonies, but it was especially keen in Georgia, where slavery was not permitted. Indentured white servants had been of great value in all the British colonies and had continued long after Negro slavery came to America, but these laborers gave much trouble and were not to be depended upon. Noble Jones brought two servants with him when he came to Georgia and later he secured others from the Trustees, who hoped to ward off discontent over the prohibition of Negro slavery by providing servants. The Trustees themselves had almost 200. Stephens remarked frequently about the lack of laborers in Georgia and how no one on the streets of Savannah could ever be induced to work for others, even when he had nothing to do for himself. The Trustees began to have mild suspicions that the Georgians too long had been wanting something for nothing: They hoped "the People after having been supported for seven Years, give no Room to the World to Suspect, that it is owing either to their want of Industry or the Badness of the Soil or Climate that they cannot Support themselves." [41] Stephens was especially interested in the labor problem, for he had great need for laborers to help him clear his plantation lands. He noted many other planters in the same predicament, planters "who had . . . a

good will to be doing, [but] seemed utterly at a Stand for want of hands, and their only hopes were in being supplied with some Assistance of Servants pursuant to the Trustees Intention before the Season was too far gone." "All the Strength I could employ at Bewlie [his plantation]," he continued, "was only two Boys with an Overseer to help; and that precarious too, Wages being grown so exorbitant, that Day Labourers were in a manner become our Masters." [42]

Stephens's prodigal son Thomas stated the case very bluntly for Negro slavery in a book which he published in 1743 entitled *A Brief Account of the Causes that have retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, in America; Attested upon Oath. Being a Proper Contrast to a State of the Province of Georgia. Attested upon Oath and some other Misrepresentation on the same Subject.* This is what he wrote: "In Spight of all Endeavours to disguise this Point, it is as clear as Light itself, that Negroes are essentially necessary to the Cultivation of *Georgia,* as Axes, Hoes, or any other Utensil of Agriculture." [43]

Finally in 1749 the Trustees relented and allowed Negro slavery properly safeguarded as to the proportion of Negroes to whites and as to their treatment and control. It was only a step to relenting in the land system to which this retreat on Negroes logically led. Already the Trustees had allowed much laxity in the strict rules of inheritance of land by women and in 1750 they removed all restrictions from absolute ownership, though nothing seems to have been done toward allowing a larger acreage than 500.[44]

Of the many colonists who had come to Georgia during its first twenty years, many had died, others had turned into Malcontents and had returned to England or gone to South Carolina, and some had remained in Georgia and continued to complain. Noble Jones belonged to none of these classes, though he had originally intended to remain only a short time in Georgia. He had soon learned to like Georgia. He became a valuable member of the government of the colony. He remained throughout his life and founded a family which continued on down through the colony and the state.

CHAPTER II

Wormsloe Plantation

ONE of those houses in Savannah, which were so numerous that the observer could "scarce see any Trees," belonged to Noble Jones. In those early primitive days it was probably no larger than the minimum size allowable, sixteen by twenty-four feet, but since Jones was an excellent carpenter and an enterprising man he must have built in subsequent years a more commodious house.[1] He was, however, not to make Savannah his principal residence. The country estate, which in England was the mark of high standing and gentility, appealed equally to Noble Jones in Georgia. And for natural beauty of location with the gorgeous display of trees and shrubs, watercourses, and sky and climate, England had nothing to equal the coastal section of Georgia—beginning only a few miles east of Savannah. So it was that Noble Jones picked out the site of his country estate about eleven miles to the south in a region whose attractiveness led a visitor a few years later to become ecstatic in his description of it.

Edward Kimber, a visitor from England, in a voyage up the Georgia coast from St. Simons Island to Savannah in 1743, stopped at Jones's plantation. "Nature, in all its gay Varieties, seem'd to open her Charms to delight our Senses, in our little inland Voyage," he wrote in eighteenth century style, describing the Georgia coast. "My Mind will ever retain the Diversity of Scenes that presented to our admiring Eyes in this Passage; and now I endeavour to commit some faint Sketches of them to Paper, I am lost, methinks, in the prodigious Confusion of Objects, that all at once crowd before me, romantically pleasing, and, as it were, make Imagination sick with Wonder. Here let

the Atheist, if such there be, view these rudest Footsteps of a Creator, and own himself convinc'd of his Folly and Absurdity, to suppose Chance the Productor. What a judicious Mixture of Light and Shade in the Landskip! how excellent the Colouring! how artfully dispos'd the Parts! how conducive to the Harmony of the Whole! Rivers and Creeks, that glide with a peaceful, and, as it were, contented Current, into wide Arms * [a note here naming some of the coastal islands] and Breaks of the Sea, which seem indignantly to resist their low and servile Community, forgetting, like some of the Race of *Adam,* that they had the same Original, foaming and lashing the Shores with repeated Fury: The Marshes and Savannas extended along their Borders, dispos'd with so seeming a Regularity, as to make the whole Prospect look like one continu'd Canal, the Effect of the most studious Contrivance: Whilst at a distant View you take in a large Tract of hoary Woods, interspers'd with verdant Spots that bear the Semblance of the most refreshing Meadows; rustick Grottos, rugged Caverns, mossy Caves, and cooling Cells, seem to border their Sides. Here the lofty Oak, with all his kindred Tribe, [footnote: *As the Live Oak, Water Oak, Swamp Oak, Marsh Oak, Holy Oak, &c. Live Oak is much more hard and solid than the Wood of* Brazil, *and full as heavy. I believe it would turn to Account to import some Quantity of this Wood for the Use of Refiners, &c. who require very strong Fires.*] clad in Robes of antique Moss, [footnote: *You'll see, in this Part of the World, Trees dress'd from the Tops to the Roots in this Vegetable, which hangs together Net-wise, and quite obscures the Tree: It seems an excellent Provision of Nature, for the Subsistence for some Orders of Creatures, who, especially in the Winter Season, feed much on it; nor is it unuseful to Man, it has often afforded us comfortable Beds, Pillows, and Tinder.*] seems, by its venerable Appearance, to be the real Monarch of the Woods; the Cedar, sweet as the Cedar of *Lebanon;* the towering ever-green Pine, the fragrant Hickary, the mournful Cypress, and here and there the triumphant Laurel, are seen in full Lustre, and preside over an Infinity of lesser Products, that seem to venerate, beneath, their more advanc'd and distinguish'd

Neighbours. The savory Sassafras Shrub perfumes the Air, the Prickly-Pear Shrub offers his tempting Fruit to the Hand, but wisely tells you, by the Points that guard it, not to indulge to Excess; the delicious Mulberry, the swelling Peach, the Olive, the Pomegranate, the Walnut, all combine to furnish out the Paradisaical Banquet. The Vine, alone, luxuriantly climbs over the highest Oak, and invites with loaded Clusters, to partake of his refreshing Juice. Across the Glade trips the timorous Deer, the nimble Squirrel skips from Tree to Tree, and at their Roots, scour thro' the Brakes; the wonderful Possum, [footnote: *The Possum is a Creature siz'd like an Hare, and very remarkable for its false Belly, in which, at a Time of Danger, her young Ones creep, and so she carries them off with her; it eats like Pig, and is very nourishing.*] the squeaking Raccoon, [footnote: *The Raccoon is delicate eating, somewhat tasted like Lamb; . . . . Squirrels are also most delicious Food.*] and Millions of the Changeable Lizard. Now Harmony breaths forth her choicest Airs, and Musick fills the vocal Groves: The silver-breasted Mock-Bird diversifies her Note, now briskly chirps, like the soaring Lark, now melts in the softer Strain of saddening Philomel; the magnificent Red-Bird joins in the Chorus, which seems now and then interrupted by the Turtle's melancholy Wailing. [footnote: *There is a very extraordinary Bird in this Country, which frequents the Sea Beaches, &c., call'd a Sand-Bird, which almost melts in the Mouth, and is every Way like the celebrated Ortolans, tho' you may kill them by Scores every Evening. Snipes are also vastly plenty and good; and, I think, I have seen Woodcocks.*] Adown the Stream the View is still more enchanting, by the sporting of the finny Race; the shining Mullet, the noble Bas, the Warrior Stingre with his redoubted Tail, the Drum, the nimble Cat-Fish, alternately shoot their Heads above the Waves, in which large Banks of Oysters appear like frightful Rocks;—here the dreadful Alligator sports himself in the Canes, and there the heavy Porpoise rolls in sluggish Wantonness.—Now Night succeeds the Day, which seems just to have withdrawn its Beams, to give Place to new Scenes of Wonder; what clear and serene Skies! how bespangled with those glittering

Sparks, those Worlds unknown! [footnote: *You perceive here, also, thousands of minute Stars, attracting your Eyes, and floating before you; these are the Fire-Flies, which look like so many Glow-worms; they are a very small Insect, with some luminous Qualities or Particles, that I never could well examine; but surprise a Stranger much.*] And now, as *Milton* says, the apparent Queen throws her Silver Mantle o'er the Deep,—Silence seems pleas'd;—but hark,—what a confus'd Multitude of Sounds from yonder Marshes! all the Tumult and Cries of a great City are imitated. [footnote: *By the Bull-Frogs, Lizards, Grasshoppers, Marsh Frogs, &c., &c., &c.*] Another Way the Hissing of Serpents! Here the Rustling of the Deer amongst the Leaves, in yonder Wood, and now and then the prowling Wolf, with the discontented Bear, more disturb the Stillness of the Night, and make the Air tremble with their superior Voices: [footnote: *Other wild Beasts there are not that I have seen, except the wild Hog or Boar, who is very dangerous to hunt, whose Tracks you often descry by the Holes he has made with his Tusks after the Ground Nuts and Chincopin Nuts. In some Islands there are also Numbers of wild Horses and Cattle.*] What glaring Eyes are those in the neighbouring Thicket, that beam Fire upon us?—we present our Pieces,—we fire, and the whole Country echoes back the Groans.—Streaks of Red and Gold paint the Skies, and now Sol just arises from the Ocean, and is confess'd in our Horizon."

But all was not ethereal bliss along the Georgia coast. He found "Sand-Flies, Muskettos, and other Vermin, that, like a Swarm of Locusts" infested this region during the hot summer months. "The Sand-Fly is so minute an Insect as scarce to be preceivable with the naked Eye, only appearing like the sporting Particles of Dust that float in the Sun-Shine. It even intrudes itself into the Mouth as you breathe, and insinuates into all the small Appertures of your Garments, nor can you any Way fend yourself entirely from them. Muskettos are long sharp Flies, whose Venom, I believe, according to their Bulk, is as baleful as that of a Rattle Snake; I have felt them, and heard their cursed Humming too often for it ever to be obliterated from

my Memory. Raising a thick Smother of Smoke is the best Means to drive them from an House or Apartment, against which Pressure their Wings are unable to support them; and with us smoaking Tobacco is generally the Subterfuge. There are Abundance of other Torments in these Climates, as Cock-Roaches, Wood-Ticks, &c., &c. And this Colony is either not so enervated as their Neighbours, or else are poor enough to scorn Umbrellas and Musketto-Nets, as *Jamaican* and *Carolinian* Effeminacies." [2]

Kimber landed at the Jones plantation, which had been named Wormsloe. He declared that it was "one of the most agreeable Spots I ever saw, and the Improvements of that ingenious Man are very extraordinary." [3] Many other travelers were to come this way in the years that followed, to be entertained there and enjoy its hospitalities and to revel in the natural beauty of this region and to describe it. But none was to equal the descriptions of Kimber. A century later another Englishman, Charles Lyell, a prosaic geologist looking for mastodon bones, saw in this region only "a flat, swampy country, resembling a large delta." [4]

This spot was to grip Noble Jones and his descendants, and this estate was to remain in the family generation after generation, like the old estates in England, accumulating and transmitting to each successor a veneration for the traditions of the past and a wholesome respect for the leaven of permanency in a new land of restless change. Another lover of Georgia, by the name of Jones but not related to Noble Jones, a century and a half after Wormsloe had been founded, paid tribute to the idea of permanency illustrated by this plantation and its masters.

He said, "In this youthful country so careless of and indifferent to the memories of former days, so ignorant of the value of monuments and the impressive lessons of antiquity,—where no law of primogeniture encourages in the son the conservation of the abode and the heirlooms of his father,—where new fields, cheap lands, and novel enterprises at remote points are luring the loves of succeeding generations from the gardens which delighted, the hoary oaks which sheltered, and the fertile fields which nourished their ancestors,—where paternal estates,—ex-

...ly the lower part of Campbell's map is reproduced. "Jones" near the center of this map is the approximate site of Wormsloe.

posed at public and private sale,—are placed at the mercy of speculative strangers,—where ancestral graves too often lie neglected, and residences, once noted for refinement, intelligence, virtue, and hospitality, lose their identity in the ownership of aliens,—it was a beautiful sight—this preservation of the old home-stead, this filial devotion to tree and ruin and tradition, this maintenance around the ancient hearth-stone of cultured memories and inherited civilization. Love of home and kindred and State lay at the root of it all, and this sentiment, than which none more potent resides in the human breast, none more efficient for the honorable perpetuation of family and nation, found fullest lodgment" at Wormsloe and in the heart of its masters.[5]

Noble Jones located his plantation on "a kind of Island (call'd Hope Island)," [6] though Kimber called it "Mr. *Jones's* Island" but explained that *"tho' some Ways it is only bounded by a Marsh, which is sometimes dry."* [7] By 1740 William Stephens was calling it the Isle of Hope, the modern name, and he described it as "a Peninsula, cut off from the Main with a very little Isthmus, which by a short Fence makes the Island an entire Possession" of those living on it. This name was given to it by the three families who divided the island equally among themselves and doubtless the name was selected not only as having a pleasant sound to the ear but also as a salute to future happiness and prosperity.[8] The other occupants of the Island were John Fallowfield and Henry Parker, both of whom were to be of some note in the early development of the colony.

In 1736 Oglethorpe leased to Noble Jones this plantation of 500 acres, subject to the approval of the Trustees acting through their Common Council in London, which was the method of granting land in Georgia. No action was taken, probably through negligence, and not until 1745, when a new petition was forwarded in which Jones noted that he had been "at much expence in improving the said Lands," was the lease perfected.[9] Immediately on the Trustees' making Negro slavery legal, Jones secured seven slaves, hoping to improve agricultural developments at Wormsloe, and though "at vast Expense" he had sought to

cultivate it, he found that he could hardly raise enough food to feed his Negroes. Unless he could get better land, "Lands as would answer the Expence of Cultivation," it would be better for him to give up his slaves. He, therefore, petitioned for 500 acres on the heads of the branches of the Little Ogeechee River, nearer Savannah. As it was the policy now to grant land to those who gave evidence of being able to cultivate it, Jones received this grant.[10]

When in 1752 the Trustees gave up Georgia and it now became a royal colony, it became necessary for all landholdings to be confirmed and regranted in the King's name; for, indeed, all holdings under the Trustees had been in fact only leases—not ownership in fee simple.[11] So, in 1756, Noble Jones received royal grants to his Wormsloe plantation and the Little Ogeechee tract. At the same time he also obtained a grant to a lot in Hardwicke on the Great Ogeechee River, a town site which the royal governors of Georgia sought without avail to boom into a city large enough to become the capital of the province. Hardwicke never took on life, and the very site of the venture was later washed away by the river.[12]

It was the policy of the royal government in Georgia to attract settlers to the province as fast as possible by establishing a liberal land system, without, however, making land speculation easy. Every head of a family, man or woman, might have 100 acres as a headright, and 50 acres each for every other member of the family and a like amount for every slave brought in, up to a total of 1,000 acres. Thereafter, 1,000 additional acres might be added time after time without apparent limit, if the person showed ability to cultivate it on the basis of 50 acres for each slave. But for all land over the first one thousand acres, a charge of a shilling an acre was made, and five acres out of each hundred must be cleared and cultivated. Land rules were later changed in many details and those at any given time were laxly enforced.[13]

Noble Jones took advantage of this liberal policy to acquire considerable landholdings beyond the 1,000 acres he owned under the Trustees. In 1760 he petitioned for "some vacant Land extremely commodious for his Use," near Wormsloe. It consisted

of 400 acres of pine lands adjoining the causeway to the Isle of Hope. He also wanted some marsh islands south of Skidaway Island, consisting of about 100 acres. These requests were granted. The next year he received two five-acre lots "lying to the East of Savannah," and in 1762 he secured "a Garden Lot in Savannah Township." [14] The next year he received a tract of 500 acres adjoining his Wormsloe estate on the north, thereby increasing his plantation now to 1,400 acres, if the tract adjoining the causeway be counted. This new tract was the land Oglethorpe had leased to John Fallowfield in 1736, who six years later had gone to South Carolina.[15] In 1768 he petitioned for land (a marsh island with the area unstated), as he had seventeen slaves "for which he had obtained no land." The petition was granted on condition that he complete his title within seven months—the rule was generally six months.[16] A little later, the same year, he received a grant of 800 acres in Christ Church Parish.[17] In 1771 he received three additional grants: 150 acres on Skidaway Island; 500 acres in St. Andrews Parish, as he had ten slaves for whom he had got no land; and 1,000 acres in St. Matthews Parish, as he had "upwards of twenty Slaves" for whom he had received no land.[18] The next year he seems to have rounded out his land holdings by securing 800 acres on the Little Ogeechee joining his other tract there as he had sixteen slaves for whom he had received no land, and 305 acres in Christ Church Parish.[19]

Noble Jones accumulated five town lots and over 5,500 acres of land; but the estate which he developed and made his residence was Wormsloe. Pride in an estate naturally produced a name for it, an ancient custom in England as well as elsewhere. Various names were chosen in colonial Georgia, some very realistic, based on some incident such as James Burnside's Rotten Possum; some were romantic, as Thomas Upton's All Honey; some harked back to England, as Thomas Causton's Ockstead and William Stephens's Bewlie—the last having been anciently corrupted from Beaulieu. Mulberry Grove and Silk Hope were based on fact and fancy. Undoubtedly Noble Jones, who could call the locality where he lived the Isle of Hope, must have been

led by nostalgic sentiment or romantic feelings to call his estate Wormsloe—and not by considerations of bleak realism. Therefore, it must have been a name he brought from England, as there were such names there as Warmslow, Wormsley, and Wormslow—and actually Wormsloe in Wales, whence the Joneses had come to the London area. It was not a name concocted from the fact that silk worms might be feeding from the leaves of mulberry trees on his estate.

The location of Noble Jones's plantation on the southern part of the Isle of Hope gave him a strategic position in the defense of Georgia, for the safe inland passageway along the coast led by his estate, variously called Jones's Narrows or Skidaway Narrows. Immediately across this passageway lay a small island called Long Island and beyond it was Skidaway, a much larger island. Though the modern inland waterway runs between Long and Skidaway islands, and is called Skidaway Narrows, in colonial days the channel ran between Long Island and the Isle of Hope.[20]

On the south end of the Isle of Hope, about the time of the outbreak of the Spanish War in 1739, a fort was erected to control the passage—"a Kind of *Manchecolas* Fort," Kimber called it, generally referred to as Jones's Fort and in later times as Fort Wimberly. It was originally garrisoned by Noble Jones and a dozen men. The Malcontents, who had no occasion to like Jones, vented their spleen in their reference to his fort, saying that "upon a Piece of Land which commands the Narrows, is a Timber Building, called *Jones'* Fort; which serves for *two* Uses, namely, to support Mr. *Noble Jones,* who is Commander of it, and to prevent the Poor People of *Frederica* from getting to any other Place, where they might be able to support themselves." The Malcontents explained that the Narrows were "a narrow Passage, through which Boats are obliged to pass and repass, in going to and from the Southward."[21] This fort or "Guard-House" or "Watch-House," as it was variously called, was made of wood; and when William Stephens saw it in August 1740, he described it as being "in pretty good Order; but with little more Expence and Labour, it would be very useful, and

capable of Annoyance and Defence." [22] At some later undetermined time "more Expence and Labour" were expended by replacing it with a strong tabby structure, whose ruins were to continue as a quaint monument to Georgia's military past.

About a mile or more up the island Noble Jones began the construction of his residence. In early 1741 Thomas Causton wrote the Trustees that Jones had erected "what very Justly (when finished) may be called a good house with Convenient Out-Houses for Servants, Cattle, &c he has also fenced and brought into tillage about 14 Acres of Land, he appears very industrious, the Land is of the best kind, and has produced very well, he is favored with a Small Military Employ, by the Command of a Small Fort near his house, where is Stationed a Boat also under his Command, with 12 men, to Serve in Boat and Garison." [23] Writing two years later, Kimber stated that Noble Jones commanded "a Company of Marines, who are quarter'd in Huts near his House, which is also a tolerable defensive Place with small Arms." [24] Kimber's description would indicate the possibility of part of Jones's house (probably the lower structure) being made of tabby—an early kind of concrete in use at that time, composed of lime and oyster shells.

The residence was in an attractive setting with the watercourse to the eastward and in the opposite direction, "a Vista of near three Miles, cut thro' the Woods to Mr. Whitefield's Orphan House, which has a very fine Effect on the Sight"—at least it appeared so to the appreciative eye of Edward Kimber, who was a guest of Jones's.[25] Southwestward across Black River and the marshes, which bordered the Isle of Hope on that side, was Bewlie on Burnside Island, where William Stephens had his plantation—though he lived most of the time in Savannah. In addition to the two plantations of his neighbors Fallowfield and Parker on the Isle of Hope, there were various other plantations on these sea islands.

Though Thomas Causton thought that the land of Wormsloe Plantation was of "the best kind, and . . . produced very well," Noble Jones, as has already appeared, did not seem to think so, in his petition for the little Ogeechee Tract, when he said that

he could hardly raise enough to feed his seven Negroes. As a matter of fact Jones never made Wormsloe Plantation strictly an agricultural undertaking; rather it was a country estate which he developed, where fruits, vegetables, and silk were produced, and nature's prodigal bounty of beauty was added to by his own efforts. During the first week of July 1765, many people of Savannah were to go to Wormsloe to see an unusual performance of nature. According to a news item in the *Georgia Gazette,* the only newspaper in the province, "Numbers of people from this place have gone within these eight days past to the plantation of the Hon. Noble Jones, Esq. a few miles from town, to see an Agave plant, now in blossom there, which is said to be 27 and a half feet high, and has 33 branches, which contain a vast number of blossoms." [26]

John Bartram, the famous naturalist, on his trip southward through the Carolinas, Georgia, and East Florida, visited Wormsloe Plantation in September of 1765, and in his description of what he saw there he noted especially the fruits. Leaving Whitefield's Orphan House, in his quaint language, "we then rode to A gentlemans house which was delightfully scituated on A large tide salt creek where ye oisters is as thick as thay can ly within A stone cast of his house he hath & is makeing great improvements in fruites which it is properly adapted for his orange trees pomegranates figs peaches & nectarins grows & bears prodigiously I saw one Apricot tree but it looked poorly & one grape vine ye fruite of which rotted Just before ripe like as ours ye orange trees here is not hurt with ye frost while young as in most parts of this countrey & allso at ye Colledge [the Orphan House] for a year or two & his pomegranates is very large 4 or 5 inches diameter & very delitious I eat freely there & he gave is [us] several to eat upon ye road it was delightfull to see ye lovely scarlet blossoms & ripe fruit at once on ye same tree." Unfortunately Bartram did not describe Noble Jones's residence, but the day after leaving Wormsloe, he made this observation about houses in this region, possibly prompted by what he saw at Wormsloe: The people "generally buildes piazas or [on] one or more sides of thair houses which

is very commodious in these hot climates thay screen of [off] ye violent scorching sunshine & draws ye breese finely & it must be extream hot indeed if one cant sit or walk very comfortably in these when out of employ & much conversation both sitting & walking is held in these." [27]

Agricultural activities were much more diversified in colonial Georgia than in subsequent years, and were made so first by the designs of the Trustees and by the fact that the great staple crops with the exception of tobacco in the upper South had not yet been developed. Wormsloe at this time, apart from its significance as a residence, might be thought of as what in modern times would be called an agricultural experiment station. Its vineyards and mulberry groves would have delighted the eyes of the Trustees, for out of them it was hoped would flow wines and silk.

Abraham DeLyon, a Portuguese Jew, came to Georgia during the first year of the colony and soon became interested in cultivating grapevines. His vines did so well that in 1738 the Trustees lent him £200 to promote grape culture throughout the province.[28] Soon many people were setting out their vines and expecting a bountiful flow of wine from the luscious fruit. Though the vines grew well and many of them bore abundantly, the grapes did not produce a good wine or wine at all. In 1741 it was reported that the Trustees would give £100 "for the first Pipe of wine wch should be made in Georgia." At this time Noble Jones had thriving vines and was making "great progress." [29] William Stephens was much interested in growing grapes at his Bewlie Plantation, but he complained that they never seemed to mature. They withered on the bunch and fell off. In July 1745, he said that "one part of the Cluster became in a manner Coddled and perished, whilst the remaining part that was yet green, ceased growing, and compleated the loss of the whole." Yet at this time he sent Jones a thousand cuttings.[30] Grape culture came to be an utter failure.

More success was had in silk culture, though it never met the expectations either of the Trustees or later of Parliament, which encouraged it by offering a bounty for raw silk. But Noble Jones

tried his hand at this too—in fact, the Trustees commanded all landholders to try it. To teach them the mysteries of this intricate business of feeding silkworms, knowing when to kill them and how to select those worms allowed to live to produce eggs (or seeds as they were generally called), and knowing how to unwind the cocoon—to do all this, the Trustees secured the services of the Amatis brothers, Nicholas and Paul, Italians from Piedmont. Both proved idle, troublesome fellows and both were gone by 1736. Another Italian, Jacob Camuse, a servant of Nicholas Amatis, continued in the colony, and he and his wife were the Trustees' chief reliance in teaching the Georgians the silk business, but Mrs. Camuse was so temperamental and so secretive in divulging the silk mysteries that she almost drove poor old William Stephens out of his mind.

Most of the silk produced in Georgia came from the industrious Salzburgers up at Ebenezer; but Noble Jones was actively engaged in its production at Wormsloe. His daughter Mary, who was only three years old when the family arrived in Georgia, became greatly interested in silkworms as she grew up. James Habersham, who also was so much interested in silk production that he called one of his plantations Silk Hope, said in 1750 that Noble Jones had "a pretty parcel of Trees," and that he was planning to unwind the cocoons at Wormsloe instead of sending them to the central filature in Savannah. Habersham thought that one reason why the silk business did not flourish in Georgia was because the planters had not learned how to unwind the silk on their own plantations—sending the cocoons to Savannah often resulted in damage to them.[31] The next year he reported that Mary Jones had produced from her silkworms six or eight ounces of seeds, but he was a little fearful that they would not produce the best worms, as she had "suffered her Worms to issue from the Cocoons without sorting." He explained that the worms in the "very best, hard, weighty and full made Cocoons" should be saved for seed—that is, allowed to cut their way out of the cocoon and lay their eggs.[32]

Cotton raising was as great an experiment as wine or silk production in colonial Georgia, and it turned out to be no more

successful. Some was being planted, but Causton reported to the Trustees in 1741 that it was generally unsuccessful, and he predicted that there would never be success "unless some engine be found as will take out the Seed." [33] There is no record of Noble Jones having tried cotton production at Wormsloe though there is reason to suppose that he did, for his neighbor George Whitefield planted cotton rather extensively. Whitefield remarked in 1740 that "picking Cotton is an Excellent employment for my little Orphans," and said further, "I have Severall Spinners and one Weaver employ'd at Savannah and have now above a hundred yards of home Spun Cloth in the [Orphan] House." [34]

Jones probably raised some rice at Wormsloe, as it was one of the principal crops of Georgia; but the fresh-water streams on Wormsloe Plantation were so meagre as to make the supply of water for overflowing the fields a problem. Benjamin Franklin, the colonial agent for Georgia, probably knew of this difficulty when in 1772 he sent Noble Jones's son Noble Wimberly some "Upland Rice from Cochin China." "It grows on dry Ground, not requiring to be overflow'd like the common Rice," he explained. He also sent Jones a few seeds "of the Chinese Tallow Tree," which he thought would "grow & thrive with you." [35]

One of the first sources of wealth in colonial Georgia was cattle raising, which became so extensive as it was developed on the open range, that the registration of the various cattle brands was required by the colonial government. Some of the Wormsloe lands were turned over to grazing. In early 1739 about a hundred steers were brought from South Carolina and turned loose on the Isle of Hope and by building "a new Fence" across the marshy isthmus it was hoped that the cattle would be well contained there; but, alas, they soon broke out and not more than half were ever recovered—so William Stephens reported.[36] There is no record as to who was promoting this ranching venture, but it was likely Jones, as his neighbors on the Isle would not have been very acceptable business partners, since Fallowfield had by this time become a violent Malcontent and Parker

was too much a drunkard and a rake, and a Malcontent to boot —though happily he was later to reform. Every rose had its thorn, and no business could be expected to thrive without its hazards—the grapes rotted, the silkworms died. And in addition to cattle breaking out of their pastures and disappearing, they too died of some strange malady now and then. During the summers of 1742 and 1743 great numbers died, in some places more than half. And no one seemed to know why they were dying or what the remedy could be for this distemper.[37]

Another source of income to the colonial Georgians was the products of the forests—naval stores, lumber, handspikes, spars, and oars, shingles, and staves and headings for barrels. Noble Jones's 400 acres of pine lands adjoining the causeway to the Isle of Hope as well as pine lands on his original Wormsloe tract were a source of naval stores and these trees and oak timber provided other products to be sawed into lumber by tide mills or hewn and split into shingles and staves with adzes, wedges, and froes. Cedar posts cut from cedar lands found a ready export market to the West Indies, as, indeed, did all forest products. In all America, no finer and more durable ship timbers were to be found than on Wormsloe Plantation and in the other coastal regions of Georgia.[38] In fact the first signs of economic self-sufficiency of the Georgia colony came out of the forests. Thomas Causton wrote to the Trustees in January 1734 that a ship would soon take on at Savannah "about 700 Barrels of Pitch and Tarr . . . , which we beg leave to Consign to your Honours as the first Export of the Growth of the Province." [39]

Georgia was slow in developing self-sufficiency and trade, and as a colony she never developed manufactories unless there might be so counted such extractive products as hog lard, orange juice, salep powders, beeswax, and naval stores. But with what trade she had both at home and abroad, she needed a medium of exchange. In her export trade, much of which was with the West Indies (English, French, Dutch, and Spanish), various kinds of coins made their appearance in Georgia. There was much complaint that there were no small English coins. The

Trustees felt the need as much as the Georgians did, and in 1735 they petitioned the British government to send over a thousand pounds of small silver coins—sixpence and shilling pieces. Accounts do not make plain how much of this kind of money found its way to Georgia, but four years later William Stephens was informed that two tons of copper halfpence were being sent.[40] For the larger denominations the Trustees used a kind of paper note which was called a sola bill. These notes were issued by Oglethorpe and his successors in Georgia, in denominations from £20 down to £1, and they circulated as money until they were returned to London where the Trustees redeemed them. After Georgia became a royal province, permission was given to the colonial assembly to issue small amounts of paper money.

Indeed, much of what appeared to be Jones's primary planting interests at Wormsloe were apart from what the ordinary citizen concerned himself with, for according to a Georgian writing back to London in 1741 the people usually planted "Indian corn, Pease, Potatoes, and several sorts of viney plants, such as Pumpkins, Water Melons, Melons and Cucumbers." [41] Indeed, there was good reason besides what hunger and trade afforded, for raising the first three products; sometimes, as in 1742, the Trustees offered bounties for these crops—a shilling a bushel for corn, sixpence for peas, and three pence for potatoes.[42] But there is no reason to suppose that Jones did not raise modest amounts of these crops, as his neighbor Fallowfield raised in 1736 on fifteen acres 95 bushels of corn, 40 bushels of potatoes, and 22 of rice.[43] Tobacco and indigo were also crops in colonial Georgia. Tobacco was not suited for the coastal regions, but here indigo thrived and Jones probably raised some at Wormsloe, as an experiment, if not for the market.

Agricultural methods were very simple. The porous sandy soil made the sod easily broken in selected spots but a confusion of roots made furrowing quite difficult. Hence, the hoe came to be the universal farm implement; a plow on an early Georgia plantation would have been a strange sight. Almost a decade after the first settlement, Thomas Causton wrote the Trustees

saying that he thought a plow could be used and he therefore hoped that "the Plough would in a few years supply the place of the Hoe in Georgia." [44]

Labor was the one thing most needed, as the Malcontents had so persistently shouted and even William Stephens had found out when he tried to clear and work his Bewlie Plantation. White indentured servants did not solve the problem. These people often were worthless characters before they came to the New World, and the inducements they were given here made them no better. The usual term of service was five years, at the end of which in Georgia they were to receive twenty acres of land, which was to be marked out for them on their arrival and on which they were to be allowed to work one day in the week. This amount of land was later increased to fifty acres. Despite these advantages, many of the servants worked very indifferently and some were guilty of sabotage. Many ran away to South Carolina or into the wilderness. In 1739 Jones helped to bring in three deserters who were unable to make their escape "through such an unknown Wilderness." [45] As has been noted, Jones brought two servants with him to Georgia and he later secured three adults and a minor. But he had trials and tribulations with his servants, even before developing Wormsloe, as he wrote Oglethorpe in July 1735, who was then on a visit to England. "I have had bad Success with Servants," he told Oglethorpe. "The old man continued sick from the time I first had him till his Death. So that with him that dyed before, I have now left but two and those have been sick and as soon as well are always in some Contrivance. They have rob'd me and others and run away but I have them both now but am forced to keep one of them with a Chain on his Leg." Yet Jones added, "If I could get a sufficient Number of Servants I don't doubt doing well." [46]

Jones, Stephens, and many other officials and supporters of the Trustees came around to the point of view that slavery must be permitted in Georgia, and in 1749, shortly before the Trustees relented and allowed slavery, Jones and fifteen others signed a petition for slaves. They emphasized that they particularly wanted the institution safeguarded by rules which would

make it as humane as possible. They wanted murdering a slave to carry the same penalties as if it were committed against a white person and the working of slaves on Sunday to be prohibited. With these and other rules in force they believed that "no Man of an inhuman Disposition will think of making Georgia the place of his Abode." [47] Thomas Causton called the attention of the Trustees much earlier to the fact that around Augusta, too far away from Savannah for the authority of that place to be effective, the people "perform all of their planting by Slaves." [48]

So, as has already appeared, Georgia was allowed slaves in 1749, and the Trustees instituted the colony's first slave code in their law repealing the prohibition of slaves. This code conformed in most details to the desire of Jones and others who had expressed themselves on the subject in letters and petitions. A slaveowner must not inflict any punishment endangering life or limb and if he should kill a Negro he should be tried for murder according to the laws of Great Britain. Working a slave on Sunday was not prohibited except by the implication that the owner must have his slaves "attend at some time on the Lords Day for Instruction in the Christian Religion." Mindful of the weakening effects slavery would have on the military strength of the colony, the Trustees required all slaveholders to keep one indentured white servant able to bear arms, in proportion to every four slaves they should own; and to make sure that the silk culture should not be abandoned now that the people might have slaves, the Trustees required under heavy fine for violation that all planters must maintain mulberry trees on their lands at the ratio of one per acre and that for every four male slaves they might possess they must have one female slave well instructed in the winding of silk from the cocoons.[49]

Three years later the Trustees gave up their charter and the King took control in Georgia, and in 1755 a new slave code was enacted by the colonial Commons House of Assembly in order "that the Slaves may be kept in due Subjection and Obedience and the owners and other persons having the Care and Government of Slaves may be restrained from exercising too great

Rigour and Cruelty over them and that the public Peace and order of this province may be preserved." [50] This one was much more extensive and detailed than the Trustees' code and it made no references to mulberry trees, silk winding, and indentured white servants. Slaves must not be absent from their plantation without a pass on penalty of twenty lashes, and if a slave should resist when apprehended he might be lawfully killed. Slaves in number of more than seven must not travel the highways unless accompanied by a white man. They must not be taught to write—there was no direct prohibition against teaching them to read. To burn or destroy stacks of rice or other grain, to set fire to tar kilns, barrels of tar, pitch, rosin, or turpentine, or to administer poison to anyone was punishable with death. It was also a capital offense to raise or attempt to raise an insurrection or to entice away from the province other slaves. Slaves must not buy or sell anything without the permission of their master and they should not have any kind of boat or canoe nor possess horses or cattle. They were strictly prohibited from "using and Carrying Wooden Swords and other Mischievous and dangerous Weapons or using or keeping of Drums Horns or other loud Instruments which may call together or give Sign or Notice to one another of their wicked Designs and purposes."

But all the law did not run against the slave; there were parts of it for his protection. As "Natural Justice forbids that any person of what Condition so ever should be Condemned unheard," a method was set up whereby the slave should be given a trial. Masters were not allowed to work their slaves on Sunday and no one should sell them liquor. As "Cruelty is not only highly unbecoming those who profess themselves Christians but is odious in the Eyes of all Men who have any Sense of Virtue or Humanity," anyone beating a slave without good cause was subject to a fine and anyone killing a slave was subject to a fine and imprisonment in the Savannah jail or banishment to a frontier garrison for seven years. All barbarities against slaves were forbidden, but this provision was not to forbid the correction of slaves with "Horse Whip, Cow Skin, Switch or Small Stick or . . . putting Irons on." Owners must provide sufficient food

and clothing for their slaves and must not work them more than sixteen hours a day. There must be a white man on all plantations where there were slaves, and if there were twenty slaves the white man must be capable of bearing arms and where there were fifty slaves there must be two such men and one additional for each additional twenty-five slaves. A patrol system was set up two years later and at various times the slave code was reenacted with minor changes.[51]

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When slavery became legal, Noble Jones immediately began to buy slaves and to accumulate at least fifty-three at one time or another. At his death he had about half this number. He gave his slaves such names as these: To women—Chloe, Clarinda, Dona, Gheta, Young Grace, Old Grace, Kate, Nancy, Nanny, Rose, Senah, and Sue; to men—Casar, Frank, Jack, Jeffroy, Kane, London, Luke, Mingo, Monday, Peter, Poole, Primus, Scipio, Tom, and Tony.[52] His increase of slaves entitled him to additional land, and as has been shown, he secured various tracts and developed them into plantations. Most of his slaves were doubtless employed at other plantations than Wormsloe.

The Joneses and others who in addition to their town houses had plantation homes enjoyed a fuller, freer, and more wholesome life than those who had only a house in town. The Trustees' storehouse in Savannah, stocked with provisions produced in Georgia as well as with imports from the other British colonies and from England herself, was the chief source of food both for town and country dwellers. For instance, the Trustees in 1737 instructed Thomas Causton, the storekeeper, to provide the following weekly allowances to their official, William Stephens, who, like Jones, lived both in town and in the country, but mostly in town: 6 pounds of beef, 2 pounds each of rice and peas, 2 quarts of flour, 1 quart of molasses, and 7 pints of "strong Beer." Each quarter of a year he should have 4 pounds of cheese, 2 pounds of butter, 2 ounces of spice, 2 pounds of sugar, 1 gallon of vinegar, 6 pounds of salt, 3 quarts of lamp oil, and 3 pounds of soap.[53] Already the forerunner of that great Southern dish, cornbread, was appearing in "gritts," as the colonial Georgian called Indian corn when ground or pounded into small grains.[54]

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It was only a step from mushing it into "gritts" to baking it into cornbread. This food was not provided by the Trustees' storehouse.

As far as supplementing the provisions got from the storehouse, there was less distinction between the town and country dwellers than the names would indicate, for every person living in a town had his forty-five acres in the country, though many were slow to develop their farm tracts and some never did. There was room, however, both on the town lot and in the country to raise tame fowls, and there were plenty of these in colonial Georgia. The food supply was also enriched by fish teeming in the many freshwater creeks and salt streams and especially by the wild fowls and game that the fields and forests afforded. A Georgian wrote to a London friend in 1740 that a Mr. Harris in Savannah, who was "an expert Fowler sometimes goes out with his Gun and seldom fails of bringing in, either wild Turkey, Curlews, Rabbit, Partridge, Squirrel, Ducks or Geese (in their Season) sometimes Venison but that and Bear &c the Indians supply us with often." [55] Food at Wormsloe was, therefore, varied and plentiful, coming as it did from field, forest, and stream—and from the Trustees' storehouse.

By the time Noble Jones had settled his family at Wormsloe in 1736 he had, in addition to his wife Sarah, three children—his son Noble Wimberly, who was at this time about thirteen years old, his daughter Mary about six, and another son Inigo, aged two. At some unknown time there was born to Noble and Sarah Jones another girl, named for her mother, Sarah. She died in infancy. Though health conditions were undoubtedly better on a country estate than under more crowded conditions in towns, there were sickness and premature death at Wormsloe. In 1751 Noble Wimberly Jones lay critically ill and his life was despaired of, but fortunately he recovered, to play an important part in the colony and state.[56] The next year Mrs. Jones was reported to be "extreamly" ill and it was probably at this time when she died.[57] If so, her daughter Mary, twenty-two years of age, now became mistress of the plantation, which she would later inherit. To take care of the home of her father, she

remained single for the next quarter of a century and more, and did not marry until after his death. Noble Wimberly, in 1755 at the age of thirty-two, married and left Wormsloe for a country estate of his own which he named Lambeth in remembrance of the town near London, where he was born. But his interest in Wormsloe was not far removed, for it was about this time when he received 500 acres adjoining it on the north, and after Mary's death he became master of Wormsloe. The third of the Jones children was Inigo, who died at Wormsloe, preceding in death both his sister and his brother. When Inigo was yet a minor in 1746 his father asked for 500 acres on the southern part of Skidaway Island for his son, promising that he himself would cultivate and stock it. Though the Georgia authorities had no doubt that Noble Jones would do this, they decided that as the boy was not yet of age they should leave the decision to the Trustees.[58] Inigo later received lands near Wormsloe and in 1769 he petitioned for 450 acres of land on the north bank of the Altamaha River but he did not complete the title to it until 1772, if, indeed, then. He based his petition on the fact that he had a wife, two children, and four slaves.[59] It does not appear that he lived on the Altamaha tract, but there is reason to suppose that he did live with his family at Wormsloe, as it was there he died and was buried.[60]

As Noble Jones lived in a strategic spot, he often had visitors at Wormsloe socially as well as on official business. William Stephens, who was head of the colony after Oglethorpe left, occasionally came to Wormsloe, and it seems logical that George Whitefield at the Bethesda Orphan House, when he was occasionally there from his many visits to the other colonies and to the British Isles, may have ridden the couple of miles over to see Noble Jones. Also for some years Noble Jones was in charge of the official scout boat, as a sort of admiral of the colonial fleet (sometimes consisting of more than one scout boat), and since it was stationed at the fort nearby, Wormsloe came to be in a sense the place of embarkation and debarkation for prominent visitors on their way southward to Frederica or coming up the coast to Savannah. Between Wormsloe and Savannah

travelers made their way on horseback as a much more convenient way than going the water passage between the two places.

Since access to Savannah from Wormsloe was easy, Noble Jones made many trips to the city and spent a great deal of time there in his later life, his presence being made necessary by the many official duties he had to perform. William Stephens, always looking for something to write in his journal, often noted Jones's comings and goings. In 1743 he remarked that Jones seemed to be much in Savannah, "the principal place of his Residence of late," and soon thereafter he noted that Jones "came on Horseback to Town in the Evening." [61] Savannah was the social center of the colony, made so by the fact that it was the capital and the largest city. Besides private social activities, there were many official celebrations and functions, which the people liked. They were generally called "Rejoicing Days," and there seemed to be as many of them in Georgia's royal years as there were saints in the Roman Catholic's calendar. Such were the births of princes and princesses, the reigning King's birthday, his coronation day, the day on which the landing was made at Yamacraw Bluff (Georgia Day), the visits of Indian delegations and warriors, a few saints' days as St. George's, St. Patrick's, and St. Andrew's—and Guy Fawkes Day, too. Stephens on February 1, 1745 noted that that day being the day the colonists landed "was not to be passed over without being observed in the usual manner; by hoisting the Flag, firing a few Guns, and drinking a Glass of Wine to the Honble. the Trustees health." [62] But Stephens, stingy with the Trustees' money, made some of these occasions less elaborate, and wished that fewer Indians would be passing through Savannah and that those who did come would not stay so long, as they must all be given genteel entertainment and an occasion made of their visit. Noble Jones played a part in most of these "Rejoicing Day" celebrations. As commander of the militia he would likely be in charge of processions and Indian entertainments, and as a loyal Englishman he rejoiced at anything on any occasion that honored the Mother Country.

CHAPTER III

Noble Jones, Oglethorpe, and the Trustees of Georgia

NOBLE JONES was not primarily a planter. He was more an official of the government and a warrior, and as handy a man as Oglethorpe, the Trustees, and the King had in Georgia from the birth of the colony to its loss in the Revolution. For a century, Noble Jones, his son Noble Wimberly, and his grandson George were to make their contributions in politics and statesmanship. During the next hundred years the fourth, fifth, and sixth generations under the family name of De Renne were to abandon politics and distinguish themselves in other kinds of interests and activities.

To rule a colony with as unusual purposes as those designed for Georgia, the Trustees set up a government just as unusual. Since the Trustees thought of their colonists as children whom they were bringing up and directing into a sort of ideal state, it did not seem logical that those children should be allowed to interfere with this upbringing or even offer suggestions. So the Trustees' government in Georgia was made in London and in all except the execution of their policies, it continued to reside in London. The Trustees were the government of Georgia, to pass laws or not pass them, to appoint a governor or not appoint one. They passed three laws during their twenty years of existence and appointed no governor. But during the first ten of those years, Trustee Oglethorpe lived in Georgia, except for two visits to England, and he came as near being a governor as the colony ever had during the Trustee period. He was never appointed governor; in the early days the colonists called him

"Father," though he was little or no older than many of his "children." Oglethorpe was too busy setting up the colony, and later defending it against the Spaniards, to be able to devote much time to government, or to keep the Trustees informed of what Georgia was like or what its problems were. So it is not to be wondered at that the government of Georgia under the Trustees was almost as much a failure as were the purposes it was set up to serve. And wiser men than the Trustees could hardly escape being confused and befuddled by what they heard about Georgia, when the friends and governmental agents of the Trustees told them one story and the bitter Malcontents told a story directly the opposite.

The local government the Trustees first set up for their Georgians was very simple. They developed its framework and appointed the personnel before the first settlers arrived. In fact the government came over on the same ship with the settlers, for the Trustees had designated certain of those settlers as their officials. There were three bailiffs, who in fact were judges and who had the duty of holding court and dispensing justice in the principal settlement. There were a recorder to keep the minutes of this court, and two constables and two tythingmen to serve warrants and maintain order in the court and elsewhere. The tythingman was a sort of second-rate constable. To complete the governmental machinery, there were eight conservators of the peace, who were in modern nomenclature justices of the peace. Their duty was to settle petty disputes and claims.[1] Later the Trustees made some changes in their Georgia government, but they themselves always kept close control over the colony.

On November 7, 1732 the Trustees appointed Noble Jones one of the eight conservators of the peace, and at the same time they filled out the rest of the governmental personnel. But the next day they signed a deed displacing the recorder "and appointing Noble Jones in his Stead," [2] and at the same time they signed other deeds displacing other previous appointments. These superseding appointments were in fact not to become operative immediately and even not at all unless the necessity should arise later to displace officials. As it turned out, Jones

never became recorder, for Thomas Christie, the original appointee, continued to serve until 1740. But soon Jones was appointed a constable, for in July 1735 he drew £10 as his annual salary for that position.[3]

It was not unusual at this time for a person to hold more than one governmental position. In fact it may be inferred from the number of positions which Noble Jones was holding that he must have been the busiest man in Georgia. For in addition to being conservator of the peace and a constable, he was an officer to enforce the rum act, a special agent on instructions relative to the trading-with-the-Indians act, "Attorney and Agent to Tomo Chachi and his People," a forest ranger, the surveyor for the entire province, register of land surveys and grants, courier extraordinary and master of the scout boat, commander of the fort on the Isle of Hope, and an officer in the armed forces. After Oglethorpe had permanently returned to England and some changes had been made in the government of the province, Jones was made register of the colony and he also became one of the assistants to the president of Georgia—a councilor in all but name. Though he did not hold all of these positions all of the time, he was never without several of them at the same time.

Jones's duties as conservator of the peace were the least engaging of his activities and it is not known how long he held this office. As he was one of the constables and as this position was of much importance, more of his time was being required than he was willing to give. In December 1737, Stephens noted in his journal that Jones was "very seldom in Town,"[4] inferring no doubt that he was spending too much time developing his plantation at Wormsloe. A few days later Stephens called on Thomas Causton, one of the bailiffs, who was at the same time being visited by the other two bailiffs. Soon Constable Jones dropped in, followed a little later by Constable Fallowfield, who was the only other constable at that time. It immediately dawned on Stephens that here under one roof the whole government of Georgia had accidentally congregated. He "took Occasion to remonstrate to them how their Number was lately diminished through Mortality or otherwise; and as some of them had fre-

quent Avocations out of Town to look over their Lands, through whose absence (especially of both the remaining Constables at once) the publick Service was in Danger of being neglected," he proposed that whenever either of the constables should be away from Savannah, such constable should devolve his duties upon a tythingman.[5] About a year later, Oglethorpe relieved Jones of his office of constable.[6]

The act forbidding the importation and sale of rum, brandy, or "any other kind of Spirits or Strong Waters by whatsoever Name they are or may be distinguished," was extremely difficult to enforce, as it involved searching every ship, boat, or canoe on the Savannah River as well as along the coast. Noble Jones and those who helped him did not succeed in stopping the flow of strong drink into Georgia, and as has heretofore appeared, the act was repealed in 1742, after seven years of failure.[7]

Jones's appointment relative to the Indian trade act seems to have been temporary, from the very nature of his duties. This act was designed to regulate trafficking with the Indians through a licensing system, whereby disreputable traders might be kept out of the Indian country and the introduction of rum into that region prevented. Though the act had been passed in 1735, it was just becoming known in Georgia by 1736, when in June of that year Jones received his appointment. According to his letter of appointment, as there were divers persons "preparing to go with Trading Goods into the Indian Nations inhabiting within the Province of Georgia . . . therefore lest any unwary Person should thro' Inadvertency or Ignorance incur the Penalties of the said Act," Oglethorpe appointed Jones "to acquaint the said Persons with the said Act, that they may conform to the Regulations of the same, as they shall answer it at their Peril." [8] Jones was one of several Georgians Oglethorpe appointed to spread information about this act.

In 1733, through the good offices of Tomo-Chi-Chi,[9] the King of the Yamacraws, Oglethorpe had made his first treaty with the Creek Indians and had established friendship with them, never to be broken in colonial times. The Indians granted all the land

along the coast from the Savannah to the Altamaha River, but reserved for the Yamacraws, a tribe of the Creeks, a tract of land lying above the town of Savannah, and the three islands of Ossabaw, St. Catherine, and Sapelo. In order to impress the Indians with the power and might of Great Britain and, thereby, bind them more closely to the English King, Oglethorpe the next year took Tomo-Chi-Chi with a group of Yamacraw and Creek Indians to England on a visit.

It was felt that constant humoring the Indians, frequent distributing presents to them, and "genteel entertaining" them on any occasion when they happened to be in Savannah were all necessary to guarantee their constant attachment. So, in line with this policy, in the summer of 1735 it was planned to have about 300 Creeks visit Savannah to receive presents, that should be divided equally between the Lower Creeks, who were largely confined to the regions eastward from the Chattahoochee River to the coast and the Savannah River, and the Upper Creeks, who lived in the territory west of the Chattahoochee River. On the appointed day, only the Lower Creeks came—150 of them—and only half of the presents were distributed. But the formalities attending the presentation were made quite impressive. Headed by Tomo-Chi-Chi the Indians came down the Savannah River in barges and as they landed at Savannah they were greeted by a barrage of cannon. Noble Jones was the chief marshal of the occasion and in direct command of the main body of people, 200 men all under arms. Other groups which played a part in the welcome were 30 gentlemen and volunteers under arms and 20 grenadiers with two ensigns flying and drums beating. The whole procession marched to Johnson Square where the bailiffs welcomed the Indians. Jones's main body of men brought up the rear, but before the head of the procession reached the square, half of Jones's men by a quick evolution through a side street arrived there first, and dividing into two lines, formed a lane up which the Indians marched. Then the presents were distributed and the Indians returned to Tomo-Chi-Chi's house outside Savannah, where for the next two days they gave an account of the mythical rise and

"some Particular adventures" of the Creek nation, which were transcribed on a buffalo skin and sent to the Trustees in London.[10]

As long as Tomo-Chi-Chi lived he and his people were of special concern to Oglethorpe, receiving his friendly attention, for this ancient Indian chief was a great power for good in Georgia and a staunch friend of Oglethorpe and the colony. To conserve the interests of the Indians and to protect their property from depredations, Oglethorpe appointed Noble Jones "Attorney and Agent" to them. Jones immediately began proceedings against everyone who had been cutting down trees on the Indian lands, "Stealing their Canoes or any like Offences." Also he did "any business for them" that they desired, even acting as scribe for Tomo-Chi-Chi in writing a letter for him to the Trustees thanking them "for the many favours they had bestowed upon him." [11]

Protecting Tomo-Chi-Chi's trees and canoes was, in fact, only one aspect of Jones's more widespread duties as ranger of the province—protecting the trees of the Trustees throughout the entire province, running down spies, and acting in a sense as the conservator of the Trustees' interests everywhere. By the summer of 1735 he had made two expeditions to the southernmost parts of the province, the first time at the head of fifty men to investigate rumors of an alarming situation there, occasioned, no doubt, by the Spaniards in Florida. At another time he went down to the Ogéechee River, to look for skulking hostile Yamessee Indians, and at "the same time to See if we can come up with those Strollers who come to Spy and disturb our Peace." He informed the Trustees that "as Ranger I always think it my particular Duty to be the first out on those Occasions." [12]

But as ranger, Jones considered himself as much a protector of the trees as of the people; he was, indeed, a true example of the early forest ranger. It almost seemed that Jones had a personal interest in every tree in Georgia, especially cypress and live oak trees; and if he got news of anyone's having cut down a tree, he immediately inquired whether such person had the permission of the Trustees. He wanted to know particularly

whether the Trustees had allowed Jonathan Bryan to cut down and make them into canoes, as Bryan had been claiming. There were also others protesting that they had Oglethorpe's permission to cut trees. A rumor had got out that a bounty was being paid on live oak logs, which gave Jones more trouble. "As all the Words I could speak were not sufficient for some People," Jones explained that he wrote out notices and sent them all over the inhabited part of Georgia forbidding anyone without a permit recorded in the ranger's office to "cut Down, Deface, or Destroy any Cypress, or other Timber Trees of what kind, or Quality, Soever." And furthermore, since many people cut down trees on their own lands and often let them fall across passageways to plantations and, too, scatter limbs and rubbish over good pasture lands, Jones threatened to prosecute "with Utmost Severity" such persons who "do Not Immediately after Such Cutting Down Such Trees Remove burn or Destroy all Lopps, Tops, Chips & brush Occasioned by the falling hewing or Using Such Timber or Trees." He also announced that if anyone should cut down shrubs or trees anywhere about the town spring "or Make any fires there or Make it a place to Wash Cloaths they will have their Tubs, Potts &c broke & be Also Prosecuted for the Same." He signed his name to his various advertisements, announcements, and notices "N. Jones Ranger and Surveyor." [13]

Very closely associated with Jones's activities as ranger were his duties as surveyor of the province. In fact the surveyor in many respects was the most useful and important person in Georgia, for his work involved the laying of the very foundations of the colony. Until lands were surveyed and allotted, all work and progress were at a standstill. Besides being a conservator of the peace, a constable, rum agent, Indian agent, and ranger, Noble Jones had the full-time position of surveyor. How one person could render satisfactory service in all these positions surpasses belief; and fortunately here one is not asked to believe he did, for very soon complaints were coming thick and fast against Surveyor Jones.

One of the first complaints came from Samuel Quincy, rector

for the colony, who said that of the glebe lands awarded the church, Jones had laid out 300 acres in "the worst of Pine Barrens hereabouts," covered with "Wire Grass," so-named because of "its Resemblance thereto," and not worth fencing—as worm fences (the kind then being used) lasted only about seven years. There should have been a generous amount of cane and cypress swamp, which was "the richest and most profitable Land in this Country." [14] In answer to this charge, Jones insisted that he had surveyed the land that Oglethorpe had pointed out to him.

There came down on Jones's head a barrage of charges that he was negligent and incompetent, and indolent, too. Much of this campaign against Jones was inspired and carried on by the Malcontents. Thomas Christie, one of the chiefest, never wearied of informing Egmont or anyone else who would listen to him or read his letters, that Jones was "idle in surveying, so that he drove many from the Colony to Carolina to seek for land, being delayed by him in running out their land, till their money was spent." [15] Charles Delamotte, Savannah schoolmaster and Malcontent, who had returned to England in 1738, informed Egmont that "Jones, our surveyor, is both ignorant and negligent in laying the land, so that when men have cultivated their supposed lots they have been disposed [dispossessed] by others who laid claim thereto as being part of their land surveyed to them before by Jones." [16] Charles Wesley, brother of the more famous John, who spent a few months in Georgia and who returned to England immensely soured on everything he remembered about the colony, informed Egmont that Jones was "an idle man," and that more surveyors were needed.[17] Samuel Mercer, a tanner, informed the Trustees in 1735 that Jones had promised to survey his land but had never done so and that as the people could not get their land laid out, they were unable to plant crops and instead were working at odd jobs in Savannah and near starving.[18] Mercer finally entered onto some unsurveyed land and the next year (1736) cultivated five acres, on two of which he raised twenty-five bushels of Indian corn; on the other three, which he had planted in peas, he got nothing, as the

deer had come out of the forest and eaten up everything.[19] Robert Parker, Jr., who came over at the expense of the Trustees, and therefore was entitled to only fifty acres, must have exaggerated his grievances somewhat when he complained that he had offered Jones five guineas in addition to the regular fees to survey his land but could not get it done.[20] As a matter of fact the cost of surveying the 50-acre lots was paid by the Trustees, and only the land surveys for those who came at their own expense and who might have as much as 500 acres, were paid for by the owners. Jones never received more than £50 a year from the Trustees.[21]

Another accuser was William Bradley, whom the Trustees had sent to Georgia to instruct the people in agriculture. He frequently complained to William Stephens that he could not get Jones to run out the square mile of land which the Trustees had awarded him, but that finally Jones had sent "his Boy" (apparently not meaning his son but a deputy surveyor), who instead of making the survey a mile square had made it two miles long and a half mile wide to prevent Bradley from having a mile frontage on the Vernon River. Jones explained that he was following instructions on the amount of river frontage to be allowed in relation to total area. Bradley insisted that his land did not border on deep water but on a marsh and that "it was in vain to cultivate that Lot in such narrow Shape, which by Reason of Woods so near adjoining, would produce not Half a Crop." [22] Jones was not likely much disturbed by this complaint, for Bradley had a bad reputation: guilty of "malversation," "Rioter in open Court," "convicted of stealing a calf & hog," of putting his own brand on Trustees' cattle and killing others as his own. He finally "stole out of the Colony to avoid settling his account . . . & ran to Carolina." [23]

So many complaints about Jones had come to the ears of Stephens that he made this blistering attack on the Georgia surveyor, in a letter to the Trustees in January 1738: "I ought (in pursuance of my Instructions) not to let this letter go without giving some acct of your Surveyor Jones; whose Character is of so mixed a nature, yt 'tis not easy to hit it right in all its parts:

for twere doing him wrong, not to allow him some degree of Worth on several occasions; and (as I am told) a competent share of knowledge in Geometry: Nevertheless 'twould be Injustice to the Trust, not to say yt he has certainly been negligent in his Duty of running out Lands; which has occasioned many to complain, who have thereby been under disappointments; & sometimes Losses in mistaking land, & cultivating what afterwards they found not to be their own; for wch. they could find no recompense. To speak my thoughts freely of him; I take him to be an indolent man, as well in relation to public work, as to private Oeconomy; wch is sufficiently visible from the manner his Family lives in, & the very mean appearance he makes in his Garb: I have never yet seen any of his Plans [plats of surveys], & the Trust (I fear) not many." Stephens thought that Jones ought to be dismissed, but he would not recommend that it be done immediately for "I know not how far a vindictive temper might prompt him to be wicked enough to destroy whatever [records] he has (such a thing I once heard whispered) & that must certainly produce the utmost confusion, to begin all again." Stephens also felt that it would be difficult to find a surveyor who would work for as little as Jones had been receiving.[24]

Stephens was probably in an ill humor and hungry for something with which to fill up his pages to the Trustees when he wrote this estimate of Jones, for after Jones had ceased to be surveyor and the province had struggled along without a surveyor or with inferior ones, Stephens admitted that "Noble Jones was certainly an able one, & capable also of making a proper plan of his Work after 'twas done," but he still insisted that Jones "was grown so indolent, humoursome, & indifferent about it, . . . That the Trustees could not well avoid discharging him." [25] His peevish disposition against Jones must have been heightened by the fact that when he had asked Jones to survey his 50-acre lot, Jones had located only the two corners on a road but had not established the far corners and run lines to them and had, therefore, made it impossible to determine the boundaries of the land.[26]

The Trustees early began to confront Jones with the charges

that were being leveled against him, and to express the opinion that if they were true then he was "guilty of unaccountable Negligences." They chided him for not keeping a journal of lands surveyed and for not sending to London his plats, and asserted that he had done little surveying while Oglethorpe was in England on his first visit. They told him that many people had complained at not knowing the boundaries of their land and hence had not built fences and as a result cows and horses had eaten up their crops, and they mentioned as example a Mrs. Sale to whom he had made many promises but no performances.[27]

Jones had a good defense for most of the charges that were made against him by the Trustees or others; and it simmered down to the patent fact that he had a great many more duties than any one man could perform. He declared that it would take the full time of any one person "to draw plans & Certify them," and that the pay Oglethorpe allowed him would not pay for this work to say nothing of his labors in surveying; that as an example of hiring help, the person he had employed to survey the farm lots belonging to the inhabitants of Derby Ward, in Savannah, had charged him more than he had received for surveying the whole township; and that when he accepted the position of surveyor it was "(by way of Trial) for a Year." [28] As for Mrs. Sale, after the death of her husband she had married Robert Parker, Jr., who had tried to bribe Jones with the extra fee of five guineas (before mentioned) for surveying a 500-acre tract which she claimed her former husband had been promised. In fact Robert Parker, Jr., and his father had given Jones a vast amount of trouble by building a saw mill on a stream without any right to the location and in defiance of Jones's orders.[29] It is evident that the Trustees were as naïve and impractical in their expectations of what the surveyor could do as they were in other respects relative to their Georgia venture, for when he was initially appointed he was told that he should send at "every Opportunity" not only the plats and certificates but also the number of acres cleared on every lot "and with what the same is sowed and planted, and how cultivated." [30] When he did not

send the Trustees the records they wanted, they chided him for not doing so [31] and finally induced him to provide himself helpers. In August 1737 they were praising him for having made this extra preparation for surveying "the great Lots toward the West," and they now had high hopes that he would run out the whole of it so "that those, who have made his Neglect of doing it a pretence for their Idleness, may be left without Excuse if they continue in it." [32]

Feeling that his negligence had "been of great Prejudice to the Colony," the Trustees were already sending out inquiries as to whether there were not others in Savannah who could do the surveying, and they suggested to Causton that if Jones did not bestir himself, then Causton should employ any surveyor whom he could find willing and able to do the work.[33] In March 1738 the Trustees instructed its Committee of Correspondence "to consider the conduct" of Surveyor Jones and report back its opinion.[34] A few months later, Oglethorpe, who was in England at this time, set out for Georgia and arrived at Frederica on September 13, doubtless carrying with him instructions as to what to do about Jones. At any rate, the next month (October 21, 1738) Oglethorpe relieved him of his surveyorship and suspended him from the office of constable.[35] The chief blame that can be leveled against Jones was his acceptance of more offices than he had time to fill.

Yet Noble Jones as surveyor had performed arduous and valuable services to Georgia, and if the confidence that had been originally placed in him was ever lost it was soon to be regained; for under both the Trustees and the King, whose rule followed in Georgia, Jones was to be a pillar of strength and reliance. One of his first big surveying tasks had been to lay out the lands of the Salzburgers in 1734. In March with Baron Georg Philip Friedrich von Reck he set out in an open boat up the Savannah River "to seek and clear the River Ebenezer" and locate the lands for these newcomers. After five days of floundering around, sleeping out on the bare ground, and failing to find the sought-after river, they returned to Savannah.[36] Jones later surveyed the Salzburgers' lands and charged a fee which the Salzburgers

thought too high and which the Trustees asked Oglethorpe to adjust.[37] He also surveyed lands on the Ogeechee River for Nicolaus Ludwig, Count Zinzendorf, the Moravian.[38] In fact, his surveys were basic in the founding of Georgia and settling the people down on the land.

In addition to surveying land, Noble Jones, in 1737, laid out on a spot far up the Savannah River where there was an Indian trading station, a town "to be called Augusta," with streets no narrower than twenty-five yards, with a square in the center, and with other features of town planning.[39] After he ceased to be official surveyor, he continued to help out in surveys now and then; and with the makeshifts which the Trustees were to use thereafter in getting lands surveyed and proper records kept, they must have sighed for the "neglects" of the period when Jones was surveyor. In 1750 the local government in Georgia appointed Jones to be the Register of the Province to fill a position which had long been neglected by the occupant and sometimes not filled at all. The next year the Trustees confirmed his appointment. The duties of this office were to keep full records of land grants, but previously this work had been done so miserably or not at all, that confusion reigned supreme. The provincial authorities now felt that "no Person in the Colony was better qualified to execute this weighty Trust" than Noble Jones, who, though it was not his duty, had kept private accounts of many land grants, and had always generously assisted people looking for information.[40]

When the King took over Georgia, and the land leases of the Trustees were to be confirmed by grants in fee simple, the royal government commissioned Jones to make out as full records as possible of all surveys and plats under the Trustees "and that he be allowed Ten Guineas to buy a Piece of Plate as a small Acknowledgement for his Services."[41] At the same time he was made one of the surveyors of highways for the district southeast of Savannah. As it was "absolutely necessary that Public Roads should be made thro' the Province of Georgia for a speedy communication to the most distant parts of it and for the ease and convenience of its Inhabitants," the attempt was

now being made to give the colony a system of highways, paths, ferries, bridges, and causeways, the cost of which was to be assessed against the people living in the vicinity of these improvements.[42]

CHAPTER IV

Noble Jones in the War of Jenkins' Ear

IT was not long after Noble Jones had been relieved of his surveyorship and constableship that he entered a new era in the life of the province and of himself. The military strength of Georgia would soon be tested by the Spaniards and the question settled as to how successful the colony would be as a buffer against the enemy in Florida.

The Spaniards were greatly affronted by Oglethorpe's settlement in a region which they claimed was part of their own Florida, which in their more exuberant moments they averred extended northward to the land of the cod—even to the Straits of Belle Isle and to Labrador. Indeed, they had occupied Georgia more than a hundred and fifty years before Oglethorpe came, but they had been gradually pushed back across the St. Johns River, and for almost a half century thereafter Georgia had lain fallow. But when Oglethorpe brought his settlers to the regions west of the Savannah River, he knew that in the eyes of the Spaniards he was breaking an agreement, made in 1670, whereby this region was to be a sort of no-man's-land. But Oglethorpe also knew that King Charles II had in 1663 and 1665 granted all this region south of Virginia as far as the 29th parallel (sixty miles below St. Augustine) to the Lords Proprietors and that his own Georgia had been cut out of this Carolina region.

From the time the Georgians landed at Savannah, the Spaniards plotted and planned for the day when they would oust these interlopers, and likewise Oglethorpe made preparations to meet the Spaniards. In fact some of his actions indicated that he was trying to provoke the Spaniards into an attack against Georgia. Within a few years after his arrival he had erected forts

along the coast as far south as the mouth of the St. Johns River, despite the fact that Georgia's limits went only to the Altamaha River; but Oglethorpe, being an imperialist as well as a humanitarian, could answer that he was acting as an Englishman and not simply as a Georgian, and that, therefore, as the original Carolina grant extended below St. Augustine itself, for that matter he might erect fortifications as far as the 29th parallel. Within the chartered limits of Georgia, he built only Fort Argyle on the Ogeechee River. Never admitting that St. Simons Island was not within the chartered limits of Georgia, because the various mouths of the Altamaha River discharging their waters in that region made it easy to argue that the island was north of one of its mouths, Oglethorpe made St. Simons the most strongly fortified point in British North America. Here he erected Fort Frederica and Fort St. Simon, and to the southward on Cumberland Island, Fort St. Andrews and Fort William, and Fort St. George on an island at the mouth of the St. Johns. In addition he located a settlement of the warlike Scotch Highlanders at Darien on the Altamaha; and he assiduously courted, won, and maintained the friendship of the Creek and Cherokee Indians, who could supply him with a thousand and more warriors.

Well might the Spaniards wonder who was pushing the fight and well might they protest time and again to the British in London and to Oglethorpe in Georgia. In 1736 Oglethorpe and Francisco del Moral Sanchez, the governor of Florida, agreed to refrain from attacking each other and to restrain their Indian allies from engaging in fringe hostilities. This agreement so outraged the government in Madrid that it recalled Sanchez and punished him for not standing up against the British. But in 1739, in the Convention of El Pardo, negotiated in London, the British and Spaniards agreed to erect no new military works while the attempt was being made to reach an agreement on the Georgia-Florida boundary.

But there were too many problems, commercial, military, naval, dynastic, scattered throughout the world, between England on the one side and principally Spain and France on the

other, to be easily solved. The result was the outbreak in 1739 of a war which developed into a bundle of wars, involving before it was over, England, Spain, France, Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony, extending from India through Europe and the Mediterranean, to Labrador, the Caribbean, and to Georgia, variously called according to time and place the War of Jenkins' Ear, King George's War, and the War of the Austrian Succession. And, indeed, World War might have been added.

The issue which led to the first outbreak was incidental to the worldwide pressures which were bound to erupt somewhere; the issue was commercial rivalry and the scene was the Spanish Main. The particular spot where the event happened which gave such an unusual name as the War of Jenkins' Ear to the first phases of the conflict, was off the shores of Florida. Robert Jenkins, the captain of a British merchantman, lost an ear on board his ship as a protesting Spaniard argued with him over his apparent violation of Spanish trade regulations. Outraged by this brutality, Parliament was led to declare war on Spain after its members had beheld Jenkins' bottled ear. In America this war lasted for about four years before its New World locale was shifted to the New England colonies and Canada, and then it became King George's War and ended in 1748 at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle with little changed. But the year after it broke out in America as an affair between England and Spain, it became general in Europe and came to be called there the War of the Austrian Succession, as Empress Maria Theresa sought to hold her empire together following the death of her father, Emperor Charles VI.

Georgia, with the doubtful help of South Carolina, was the only English colony to take part in the War of Jenkins' Ear on land where it was fought up and down the Atlantic seaboard from the Altamaha to the St. Johns rivers. On water the contest swept across the Caribbean Sea from Porto Bello, where the British won a victory, to Cartagena, where they failed miserably.

The Georgians had long been expecting this war and had been making preparations in addition to building forts. Oglethorpe had induced the British government to give him a regiment of

regulars and he had inveigled South Carolina into supplying another regiment. Cherokees and Creeks would be on hand in numbers sufficient for another regiment and more; and the puny colony of Georgia would afford about enough men to make up a regiment. In the days when Noble Jones was still a constable, he and Fallowfield came to town one morning in 1738 to consult William Stephens about the state of arms of the colony. After entertaining them at breakfast, Stephens by a beat of drums showed his visitors how quickly the men of Savannah could fly to arms. Within less than an hour about eighty citizens appeared with their weapons.[1]

The Spaniards were the first to draw blood in this war, which broke out in the fall of 1739, when they ambushed and killed two Highlanders at an outpost on Amelia Island, south of the St. Marys River. In this war Noble Jones was to play a prominent part, from its beginning to the end. Oglethorpe, who was just now returning from a great pow-wow with the Indians on the Chattahoochee River, hastened southward to Frederica where he got together a force to invade Florida before the end of the year. He swept up the St. Johns River and ravaged the country toward St. Augustine, while he sent a smaller force on up the river to seize the two forts of Picolata and St. Francis, which protected the Spanish road from St. Augustine to Pensacola. Nothing came of either force, for Oglethorpe was too weak to attack St. Augustine and the troops which were sent against the two forts, having no cannon, desisted after a weak effort.

But now combining his forces into a larger unit, he set out on New Year's Day (1740), up the St. Johns in a flotilla of fifteen craft, with a large contingent of Indians. Noble Jones and various other officers were along. Early in the morning of the seventh the expedition arrived off the two forts. The Indians surprised, captured, and burnt Fort Picolata, on the eastern bank of the river; and a little later in the morning Oglethorpe landed forces on the west bank and with four pieces of cannon began an attack on Fort St. Francis. After he had carried out various maneuvers and bombardments, this fort surrendered about sunset with all the garrison made prisoners. The booty consisted of two cannon,

a mortar, three swivel guns, 150 shells, "a number of glass bottles filled with Powder, and artificial Fire works," and various other equipment. The loss of the two forts was a severe blow to the Spaniards, as it cut their communications to the westward.[2]

But the real power of the enemy lay in St. Augustine, and until this stronghold were captured the menace of the Spaniards would remain as great as ever. Oglethorpe immediately made plans to seize it. South Carolina furnished a regiment, in which some Georgians were enlisted; there was the regiment of regulars sent over from Gibraltar; there was a large contingent of Indians; and there were other troops variously denominated as militia and rangers. Altogether the army numbered about 2,000 troops, the largest force Oglethorpe was ever to command in America. It would be difficult to imagine this expedition setting out without Noble Jones, the special aide and friend of Oglethorpe. Indeed, he was there, but strangely enough he went along in the capacity of a lieutenant in the South Carolina regiment. The reason lay in the fact that the South Carolinians had not quite filled up their regiment, and in order to complete it thirty or more citizens of Savannah under Noble Jones volunteered to join it.[3]

The expedition was ready by late spring of 1740, and though the beginning of summer was no time to invade Florida, yet strategy demanded it. Reinforced by ships of the British navy, Oglethorpe planned to make a concerted attack by land and water. The army marched to the gates of St. Augustine and gave the signal for the ships to enter into the bombardment but on account of a combination of circumstances, the navy was in no position to act. The element of surprise being lost, Oglethorpe settled down to a siege, which lasted until late July, when he raised it and marched back to Georgia, as he had been unable to cut the Spaniards off completely from outside aid. Disappointment and despondency spread over the troops as they retreated, for added to defeat were sickness and death and bitter dissension with the South Carolinians.

Oglethorpe was prostrated with a fever soon after the expedition had entered Florida. In a letter to his friend Egmont six

months later he told how he had struggled against sickness "as long as we kept the Field; a bear Skin for a Bed, and a Cloak for a Tent, bad water and Violent Rains were but ill remedies for such a Distemper." When the expedition returned to Georgia and he had reached Frederica, his spirits which he "had pushed to the utmost, no longer able to Support me, I Staggered from the Boat to my Lodging and was forced to keep my bed; and have hardly been able to go abroad since." [4] His spirits seem to have sunk lower at this time for he gave way to his tribulations and woes, and bitterness, too, as he complained: "I am daily teared [*sic*] with impertinences, Insults, and abuses from the people of the Colony, in Such a manner that I really do not know what measures to take. Did I not love them as my children, I Should let them perish in their follys." [5]

To add to his woes was an unseemly dispute with the South Carolinians, whose regiment was charged with not having acted a manly part in the late expedition. A Georgian bitterly complained that the South Carolinians were "a Luxurious, lazy Idle and effiminate people, they hate our General because he's an Active Bold Stirring man, hating Idleness and the use of Slaves, and if it had not been for him and our Country, the Spaniards would have been Masters of theirs long before now." [6] And as for the campaign as a whole, Thomas Hawkins, a surgeon at Frederica, sarcastically summed it up by saying that he could give no better news "than that the number of Widows are much increas'd at Darien by their husbands being kill'd or taken at the late expedition to St. Augustine, and that the Genl. is return'd in a weak State of health, and notwithstanding the greatest care has frequent Relapses, So that I have often doubted his Recovery." [7]

A few weeks after the expedition returned to Frederica, Noble Jones set out for Savannah with a pouch of letters for various people there, and he also brought with him the Savannah contingent of the South Carolina regiment, whose colonel, Alexander Vander Dussen, wanted them to proceed to Charleston to collect their pay. But Oglethorpe, fearful that many of these Georgians might stay in South Carolina if they got to Charles-

ton, ordered Jones to see that they were safely landed at Savannah. In the latter part of November following, Jones went to Charleston to attend to this business and did not return for almost a month.[8]

Oglethorpe's great expedition against St. Augustine had done little more than stir up a hornets' nest, and it was well understood by the General that the Spaniards would be planning their revenge which might well result in the destruction of Georgia. Putting his trust and confidence in Jones, he immediately appointed him to head a scouting service for the part of the province north of Frederica and placed him under the direct command of William Stephens, who was now dividing the rule of Georgia with Oglethorpe, who at Frederica would exercise control of Georgia south of the Ogeechee River. The strategic spot for the protection of Savannah was the Skidaway Narrows, on which was located Jones's Wormsloe estate. Jones was ordered to raise ten men for a "Guard and Scout-Boat," to be stationed at the guard house on the Narrows.[9]

Stephens, reveling in his newly-got authority, kept a close eye on Jones and took special delight in directing the defenses of his part of Georgia. Shortly afterwards when Jones appeared in Savannah, Stephens wrote in his journal that he "had many Things to say to him" on Georgia's defense. He had his eyes on a boat at Purrysburg, which he heard was for sale, and he instructed Jones to buy it, and also to be careful in enlisting for it "able and good Men." Stephens informed Jones further that very soon he would visit Oglethorpe at Frederica and that on his return he would expect to find the "Boat and Men at their proper Station; and therefore recommended to him to use all possible Diligence in so necessary a Piece of Service; which he promised." [10] On August 30 (1740) on his way down, Stephens arrived at Wormsloe and immediately went with Jones to the guard house (also called the watch house and the fort), which he found "in pretty good Order; but with little more Expence and Labour, it would be very useful, and capable of Annoyance and Defence." [11] On his way back from Frederica to Savannah about three weeks later, he inspected the fortifications on the

Narrows and found the scout boat "at her proper Station," and what was more, "it was a Satisfaction to me to find the Orders I left with Noble Jones . . . so well observed." [12] It must be inferred that Jones bought the scout boat at Purrysburg or one elsewhere, as too short a time had elapsed to build one. It cost 285 pounds, 15 shillings, and 1 penny.[13]

But Stephens soon found occasion to reprimand Jones for "loitering about this Town [Savannah] and Neighborhood for several Days past; and some of his Men likewise had been seen idling and drinking here, in some private Corners," while Jones was away from his station visiting his friend Thomas Causton. Stephens wrote Jones a letter "requiring him, on Sight thereof, to repair to his proper Charge; and withal assuring him, that if he offered the like again, after this Admonition, I should fully acquaint the General with it, who would soon appoint one more diligent to supply that Place." Jones quickly complied. A few days later Stephens sent a messenger to Jones to warn him "to be very diligent with his Boat in watching the Inlets . . . lest any Surprise should happen." [14]

As the scout boat was unequipped with offensive weapons and was therefore useless in chasing the Spaniards, Jones went to Savannah the next day to inform Stephens of his needs. Stephens immediately supplied him with a small swivel gun to be mounted in the prow of the boat, some ammunition, an additional supply of muskets, and "with an Ensign to shew his Authority." [15]

It had now been more than three months since the ill-fated St. Augustine expedition had returned to Georgia and still the Spaniards had made no demonstrations up the coast, but rumors were out that Spanish privateers were operating off the coast and especially that a craft "commanded by one *Van Ding*, a Native of *Spain*, of *Dutch* parentage," who had as some of his sailors several deserters from Oglethorpe's army when it was in Florida. Jones feared that he might meet up with this privateer and while chasing it, not be able to overtake it. He feared further that it might make its way through the Skidaway Narrows as there were no guns at the fort there to stop it. In the light of these facts, in February 1741 Jones left behind a guard and hurried in the

A photograph by Carroll Burke of Savannah

TABBY RUINS OF FORT WIMBERLY (JONES'S FORT)

scout boat to Savannah to warn Stephens of the situation. Stephens immediately ordered "one of our smartest Pieces of Cannon, carrying a four pound Ball, and well mounted, to be delivered him for that purpose." [16]

While Jones was in Savannah on this mission, a horseman sent from the Orphan House rode hurriedly into town to inform the authorities that two large vessels had been spied off the coast near land and that one of them had fired a large gun and that the people "imagined it to be a Signal for something: but they knew not what"; and that one of them had passed through the Narrows and the other had anchored near the fort. When this news broke in Savannah "our good Women and Children" became terrified "and People began to assemble, as usual, upon any strange News." It soon turned out that these were friendly British trading vessels; but Jones hurried back to his fort with his four-pounder, ready for the enemy should he come.[17]

Jones and his men kept themselves busy looking for the Spaniards, who never came. If not peering from the fort, they were out in the scout boat patrolling Ossabaw Sound or threading the inside passages. One day they landed on Ossabaw Island for a little recreation and when they were ready to leave, they were unable to find one of the crew. After an intensive search, they found him dead with his gun nearby. At first they thought that a lurking Spaniard might have killed him, but finding no trace of the enemy and knowing that the man, Donald Stewart by name, was of a cheerful disposition, they concluded that he had accidentally killed himself while stalking a deer.[18]

But Jones found things to do other than to watch for the Spaniards. In the spring of 1741 a trading ship was wrecked on the coast. The scout boat, happening that way, helped salvage the cargo and made off with thirty casks of flour, which was for a time stored "at Mr. Jones's house." [19] And during all these alarms of war, Jones did not forget his accustomed hospitalities to visitors at Wormsloe. In the early summer of 1741, some strangers in Savannah decided to take "the Diversion of rambling . . . for their Pleasure" to the Isle of Hope. When they were ready to return, Jones complimented them by taking them

back in the guard boat. Just before Jones's arrival Stephens had been upset by a report that one of the scouts at Fort Argyle had been shot at several times "from among the Thickets, he knew not by whom," and he had sent a messenger back to tell everyone to be on his guard. Now Jones was so thoughtless as to be leaving his post merely to show hospitality to visitors. "I sent him off immediately to his Duty," Stephens wrote in his journal, "with a sharp Reprimand, for turning his Boat into a Pleasure-Boat, when the strictest Watch he could keep in this Time of Danger, was all little enough." [20] But even so, Jones was away from his station frequently for reasons good enough even for Stephens. He went frequently to Frederica, where Oglethorpe was on watch with his regiment of regulars and where Jones visited with him; but these visits were not entirely social, for Jones was "postmaster general" of Georgia as far as the province had one, for he frequently carried dispatches in his scout boat back and forth between Frederica and Savannah.[21]

In the meantime Oglethorpe had been strengthening his fortifications at Frederica, and now and then, with small flotillas which he assembled he had chased back to St. Augustine, Spanish privateers and warships which had ventured up the coast. It seems probable, though there is no definite record, that Jones's guard boat engaged in some of these adventures.[22]

Apart from Oglethorpe's Florida expeditions of 1739 and 1740, the only other activities that had been going on in the War of Jenkins' Ear were in the West Indies, on land and water, where the British had met with both victory and defeat. Their miserable failure to conquer Cuba and the recall of Admiral Edward Vernon's fleet enabled the Spaniards to concentrate their attention on Georgia. And by the early summer of 1742 they had collected an immense force in Havana and St. Augustine for the purpose of blotting out Georgia and sweeping northward through the Carolinas and on as far as their strength should permit—it was hoped as far as the Straits of Belle Isle and Labrador, for such were the limits claimed for Spanish Florida.

Oglethorpe learned early of these preparations. He begged the South Carolinians for aid, which never came until "the Span-

iards had been chased quite out of this Colony," [23] and he implored the home government to send reinforcements, which were also denied. In early July 1742 the armada, commanded by Don Manuel de Montiano, governor of Florida, sailed up the coast of Georgia, either by-passing or capturing Oglethorpe's forts, and landed about 4,000 men on St. Simons Island. Oglethorpe hurriedly spiked his cannon and destroyed his military supplies in Fort St. Simon, on the southern end of the island, which the Spanish fleet had passed on its way up the inside passage separating St. Simons Island from the mainland. The Spaniards were hoping to seize by surprise the stronghold of Fort Frederica as they landed their men a few miles north of Fort St. Simon. First they established headquarters in the abandoned fort.

The fate of Georgia, certainly for the time being, and of South Carolina too, was settled all within the space of one day —July 7. And in the happenings of this day Noble Jones played a conspicuous part. On abandoning Fort St. Simon Oglethorpe retreated up the island to Frederica, and there he was holding a parade of the Highlanders on the morning of the seventh when Noble Jones at the head of a small detachment of rangers suddenly brought word to him that he had run into and captured a few members of a small detachment of Spaniards who had got ahead of the main forces of the Spanish army, which was marching up the island. Oglethorpe leaped upon the first horse available, and followed by Highlanders, rangers, and Indians (Jones being in command of the Tomotohetaws), engaged an advanced party of the Spaniards about a mile out of Frederica. In a furious onset the Georgians completely defeated the Spaniards. According to a contemporary account, Oglethorpe "took two Spaniards with his own hands." Oglethorpe followed the remnants until he reached a grassy meadow where he posted his men in a fringe of woods on the side—a strategic location, for the main Spanish forces, which had not yet been engaged, would have to pass through this open space. Oglethorpe now hastened back to Frederica to bring up the remainder of his forces, and it was while Oglethorpe was hurrying forward with

these troops that he heard lively firing and was soon met by panicky soldiers who informed him that the day was lost—that the Highlanders had been cut to pieces. Oglethorpe, quickening his pace, soon reached the scene of action and found out that the report was entirely false, that instead, a detachment of more than 300 Spaniards had marched into the meadow and had been practically destroyed by the soldiers Oglethorpe had posted in the wooded fringe. This was the famous Battle of Bloody Marsh. According to reports, the Spaniards admitted that they had lost more than 200 men in the fight. Some who escaped into the woods were pursued by the Indians, who "every hour bring in Scalps."

Oglethorpe continued on to the outskirts of Fort St. Simon, where the main body of Spaniards were encamped, which he estimated to be about 4,000. Since at no time Oglethorpe had as many as a thousand men on the island, the Spanish menace seemed about as great as ever. Hearing of dissensions in the Spanish camp, he decided to make a night attack and was on the point of doing so, when one of his soldiers deserted to the Spaniards. Now with his plans and his weakness too revealed to the enemy, Oglethorpe worked a trick on the Spaniards by releasing one of his own Spanish prisoners with a letter to be delivered to the deserter as if he were a spy, ordering him to make the Spaniards believe that the Georgians were weak and to induce them to send their boats up toward Frederica where they would be destroyed by hidden batteries. Though some of the Spaniards suspected a trick, this supposed danger and other considerations led the Spaniards to re-embark and sail away for Florida, never to return.[24]

The engagement at Bloody Marsh was in subsequent times singled out of the day's happenings as the turning point in Spain's thrust northward and, therefore, a decisive battle in determining the fate of all eastern North America—a slight exaggeration, but nevertheless a good fortune for the British in their state of lethargy toward the southern ramparts of their growing empire. Oglethorpe, having no reason to thank the home gov-

ernment or South Carolina, attributed the victory to his own Georgia troops and to God. In a small flotilla reinforced by a British warship, which he soon got together, Oglethorpe followed the panicky Spaniards to the gates of St. Augustine, but he found no one to oppose him.

Not content with letting the Spaniards off with this small demonstration, he prepared for another thrust at Florida to throw the Spaniards off their balance and, perhaps, actually capture St. Augustine. On February 27, 1743 he set out on ships, and early the next month he landed in Florida. His friend Edward Kimber summed up an account of the expedition in these warm and glowing words: "To divert the sanguine Hopes of the Spaniards to make a Conquest of this Province; to shew them that he was still alive, and as undaunted at the Head of his Handful of Men, as they could be with their Thousands; to confine them and pen them up within the Walls of their Castle, by harassing them with continual Alarms and thereby inducing them to believe he had had powerful Assistance from Home; and to deter them from attempting again to visit a Spot, which had been so fatal to them, was his Excellency's laudable Design, in undertaking the Incursion of March 1743; when with an unheard-of Boldness, he penetrated fifty Miles into the Enemy's Country, encamp'd under the very Walls of the Castle of Augustine, beat up their Out-Centries, and insulted a Garison of two or three thousand Men, without their daring to shew themselves out of their Cover; and all this perform'd with only two hundred regular Troops, and about three hundred Provincial Forces, by Sea and Land. So terrible is the name of Oglethorpe, and so truly baneful his Regiment to the Spaniards in America." [25] In other words, the expedition was a total failure as far as hurting the Spaniards was concerned.

On the last day of March Oglethorpe's forces disembarked at Frederica, and thus ended the War of Jenkins' Ear—a strange affair of thundering and blustering and a little lightning but not much damage done. A contemporary rhymster was somewhat amused as he wrote these words:

From Georgia to Augustine the General goes;
From Augustine to Georgia come our foes;

. . . . . .

Forth from St. Simons then the Spaniards creep;
"Say, Children, Is not this your Play, Bo Beep"?

Noble Jones, who was a lieutenant in the Florida expedition of 1740, came out of this last Florida adventure a captain—made so by General Oglethorpe.[26] But the associations of the General and Captain Jones were soon to come to a final end; for Oglethorpe, having driven the Spaniards out of Georgia and after his return visit to Florida sensing no further interest the enemy seemed to have in Georgia, decided to return to England. He had other reasons too, for he had been outrageously charged with mishandling the financial affairs of his army, and he was now going to England to answer those charges. And he might well have concluded that the Georgians no longer loved him as the father he had so long been to them. So on July 23, 1743 he set sail for England, never to return to Georgia or to think about her more, living on to see her throw off the rule of Britain and become a state in the American Union. But he did not forget his friend Noble Jones, to whom he sent from London a portrait of himself with an Indian lad by his side, reading a book. Unfortunately this painting disappeared when in the American Revolution the British seized Savannah in 1778 and marauders intruded in the home of Noble Wimberly Jones, who had succeeded to this memento on the death of his father in 1775.[27]

The War of Jenkins' Ear, which Spain had carried on alone against Georgia, now faded out of the international picture, and King George's War took its place in the American scene when in 1744 England declared war on France and the field of operations shifted to Acadia, Cape Breton Island, and to the frontiers of New York and New England. Major William Horton was left in command of the military forces of Georgia, for which it was felt there still might be much use. No one could be certain that the Spaniards would not make another attack on Georgia, and for several years there was an uncomfortable feeling of alarm

and pleasing rumors long circulated that Oglethorpe was about to return to Georgia—and some even that he had landed. And why should the French not attack the southern frontier from their strongholds no farther away than Mobile or even closer at Fort Toulouse, which they had built a few miles west of the Chattahoochee in territory which they considered their own but which King George had a decade and a half later graciously included in Georgia?

In fact the King's declaration of war on France created a profound impression in Georgia. Major Horton read the proclamation to his garrison at Frederica, and when Noble Jones heard the news at his station on Skidaway Narrows he announced the new war by firing off guns and "using a form of Words of his own Drawing, to signify the cause of it." Jones hurried on to Savannah to confer with Stephens on methods of defense. On learning of this new war declaration, Stephens ordered out a cask of beer in the morning for the people "to drink the King's health, and success to his Arms," but he waited until the afternoon to read the proclamation to them "to avoid any disorder that might happen thro Drink in the morning." After the people had been aroused and assembled by the beat of drums, and the proclamation read to them, they gave three great shouts and fired three volleys from muskets. The ceremony was concluded by the booming of seven pieces of ordnance. Seventy able men assembled "besides a party of Youngsters, who would not easily rest contented to be beaten, or run away to avoid it." [28]

Frequently parties of Indian warriors were collected on the frontiers and brought to Savannah, where after some "genteel entertaining" they were conveyed by Jones in his scout boat to Frederica. Now that Oglethorpe had left, Stephens felt more than ever that the burden of defending Georgia rested on his shoulders; he considered that day lost during which he did not do something for the defense of the province—having the drums beat in Savannah to see how quickly the people could assemble, drilling the soldiers, visiting the outlying settlements to test out their strength, or merely writing in his journal his reflections on the dark situation. On a dismal day in December 1745 No-

ble Jones called on Stephens and they "had the Opportunity of a long Conference relating to the Gloomy Aspect which everything at present seems to have, and the long want of Intelligence from England made it more and more grievous." Everyone seemed to think the Spaniards would certainly invade Georgia when spring opened; and they certainly knew that at the present moment there was much uncertainty on the western frontiers where the French were seeking to incite the Indians.[29]

On one day a French deserter was picked up in the Augusta region and sent down to Savannah, where Jones took him in charge and delivered him to Major Horton at Frederica; on another, Captain Richard Kent, in command of the Augusta fort, seized a French spy who had been tampering with the Chickasaw Indians, and sent him to Stephens in Savannah, who turned him over to Jones to take to Horton at Frederica. And so life went in Georgia where the people were not sure that the War of Jenkins' Ear had ended and did not know when King George's War might burst upon them.[30]

Noble Jones was kept busy with his guard boat, whether it be transporting spies, French deserters or English deserters, carrying dispatches to and from Frederica or Charleston, rescuing shipwrecked travelers, or, perchance, assisting visitors on their way. In late 1745 news was spread of eight soldiers having deserted from the garrison at Frederica; Jones immediately began to scour the coast in search of them. Earlier in the year, three men in a boat on their way to Fort Argyle were wrecked in the mouth of the Ogeechee River and by good luck they were able to swim to a marsh where they were about to starve for want of being able to get away. One of them succeeded after crossing many marshes and swimming streams in making his way to the Little Ogeechee where he happened up on an Indian in a small canoe who took him to Jones's fort. Jones provided a boat which rescued the others and carried them to Fort Argyle.[31] Edward Kimber after visiting a few days at Wormsloe in 1744 wrote that he set out "in one of *Capt. Jones's Scout Boats,* mann'd by a Party of his *Marine Company,* and had very pleasant Passage to Fort Frederick" on Port Royal Island in South Carolina.[32]

Jones probably felt that this was the least he could do for the man who had written such a glowing report of Oglethorpe's last expedition against St. Augustine the previous year, even though in showing this hospitality he might incur the displeasure of Stephens who had so often chided Jones for using the scout boat to transport visitors hither and yon.

Finally in 1748 there was signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended all the bundle of wars that had been going on or had faded out into nothingness in Europe, America, India, and on the seven seas; but the border between English Georgia and Spanish Florida was entirely forgotten. So the War of Jenkins' Ear was as barren of results as were Oglethorpe's campaigns against St. Augustine. With peace once more established throughout the world, Oglethorpe's regiment which had been kept all these years at Frederica was disbanded in 1749 and Georgia's defenses everywhere were allowed to crumble.

CHAPTER V

Noble Jones During the Period of the Presidency

THE War of Jenkins' Ear had taken up so much of Noble Jones's time that he had little opportunity to assist in governing the province, and when this war faded out and France took up the quarrel with England in King George's War, he was still needed to look after Georgia's defenses. Not until after 1748, when all of the wars were ended, did Jones become prominent again in the government of the colony.

In the meantime, the Trustees had made important changes in their method of ruling Georgia. In the very beginning Oglethorpe had assumed general oversight of the colony, but as his time was so taken up with preparations for defense against Spanish attack, he gave less and less attention to matters of government and made practically no reports to the Trustees. In fact he spent so much time to the southward, at Frederica, that he himself knew all too little of what was going on in the principal part of the colony to the northward around Savannah. So, in order that the Trustees might be kept informed, they sent to Georgia in 1737 a special secretary, William Stephens, who had been a member of Parliament for a quarter of a century but who was at this time in great need of employment and money. He was given no governmental authority; his duty was to write letters and reports to the Trustees, which he did with great success. In addition he kept a journal, which he sent periodically to the Trustees.[1]

The Georgia local government centered in Savannah, but as Frederica grew into a place of importance, as great as or even

greater than Savannah, the Trustees decided in 1741, in the midst of the War of Jenkins' Ear, to divide the province into two parts to be called the County of Savannah and the County of Frederica, with the Ogeechee River separating them, except that all settlements on the southern bank be included in the former county. Each was to be ruled by a president and four assistants. The Trustees appointed Stephens president of the County of Savannah and asked Oglethorpe to recommend a "Proper Person" to be president of the County of Frederica.[2] As Oglethorpe himself had not been appointed president and as he recommended no one, the County of Frederica was never organized. So in 1743 the Trustees appointed "the President and Assistants for the County of Savannah President and Assistants for the Whole Province." [3]

The President and Assistants had few powers. From now until the colony was surrendered nine years later, they busied themselves largely with granting land, subject to confirmation by the Trustees. In fact this superstructure of President and Assistants did not change the officials who dealt out justice to the Georgians. There were still the bailiffs, constables and tythingmen, the recorder, and conservators of the peace. The bailiffs still wore their purple gowns, sent over in 1737, to add to their dignity, and the recorder still looked solemn and sombre in his black gown.[4] The rules of conduct were still so simple and justice was so exact that it was dealt out "very impartially without the Jargon or the Confused Quirks of the Lawyers and without any Cost or Charges." [5] But the President and Assistants served as a court of appeals for suits involving more than £20, and for cases of over £100 the Trustees had the final decision.[6]

Stephens was sixty-six years old when he came to Georgia as secretary, and since that time, beset by many trials and tribulations, he had grown old in faithful service to the Trustees. In 1750 he was seventy-nine years old, and for some months prior to September of that year he had been incapable of attending to business because of "Infirmities, and confused Mind," though he had presided over the meetings of the Assistants. Near the end of the month the Assistants very cleverly hinted that he

should resign, "and agreable to their Expectation, He voluntarily declared Himself uncapable of any Publick Duty, desiring they wou'd proceed without Him and He would soon retire into the Country, where He should be more at Liberty to mind the more weighty Things of a Future State, not doubting, but the Trustees would enable Him to end his few remaining Days without Care, and Anxiety, which the Assistants promised to represent, having lately come to the Knowledge, that his Circumstances were quite different, than what they had before Reason to suspect." [7] On October 4 Stephens came to a meeting of the Assistants "and acquainted them, that a Boat and Hands were ready to carry Him to his Plantation, for which Place He intended to set out to Morrow Morning in order to spend his few remaining Days in preparing for a better Life." [8] The next years the Trustees "in consideration of his great Age and his past Service," voted to continue his salary of £80 a year as long as he lived.[9]

Here at his Bewlie plantation home he languished three years longer, and in the words of his son Thomas, "hardly able sometimes to recollect his Way, or, at last, to totter from one Room to another; until the Middle of *August,* in the Year of our Lord 1753, and in the Eighty-third of his Age; when being asked to Tea, a Dish was offer'd him, of which he tasted without swallowing; saying, with great Composure, 'I have done eating and drinking in this World.' And being led away to his Bed, he laid, unable to speak or receive Nourishment, till the next Day at Noon; when, without Pain or sickness, Priest or Hobgoblin, it may be truly said, that in Peace he resigned his Soul to the great God who gave it." [10]

Thus departed the old friend of Noble Jones—a friend though a trying one at times, yet lovable and respected. And across the marshes of Back River about a mile and a half from Wormsloe there was buried in a grave whose exact location has been lost to posterity, a long-time member of the British Parliament and a loyal servant to the Trustees of Georgia.

To succeed Stephens as President of Georgia, the Trustees appointed Henry Parker, one of the Assistants from the begin-

ning and a former neighbor of Noble Jones's on the Isle of Hope. Now Noble Jones began again to take an important part in the government and gain in prominence until the day of his death, at the outbreak of the Revolution. He was appointed one of the Assistants, taking his seat on November 5, 1750 and continuing in this position until the presidency of Georgia under the Trustees was merged into the royal government of Georgia under King George II. Taking his duties seriously, he had a record of attendance at Board meetings unequaled for faithfulness by any unless by James Habersham. In 1752 Patrick Graham succeeded Henry Parker as President of Georgia, and it was he who surrendered the colony to the King.[11]

It was during the presidency of Georgia while Stephens was still President and before Noble Jones had entered the government, that the most troublesome and longest-drawn-out problem in all Georgia colonial times came to a head. It had to do with Mary Musgrove, a half-breed Indian woman, reputed to be the niece of one of the Creek kings, who had married John Musgrove, a South Carolina trader. She greeted Oglethorpe when he first landed at Yamacraw Bluff, where he later founded the town of Savannah, and as she knew both the English and the Creek languages, Oglethorpe employed her as an interpreter and emissary of friendship with the Indians. She rendered valuable service throughout Oglethorpe's ten years' stay in Georgia. In the meantime John Musgrove had died and she had married Jacob Matthews and he too had died and Mary had been left a widow a second time before Oglethorpe departed.

After Oglethorpe had gone back to England, Mary claimed that he had not paid her the salary he had promised and from that time on she became more and more a problem. Troubles for Georgia were multiplied when she married an adventurer from England by the name of Thomas Bosomworth, who had already got himself made minister for the colony after having written the Trustees on the "Glory & Lustre" of charity and had appeared as "a writer of Lyricks, or some other Demonstration of the Mercury being not yet well fixed." [12] Mary had apparently exercised her charms upon him on a boat trip from Savannah

to Frederica in 1744 for soon thereafter they were married, and when they returned to Savannah people were "Chattering on this late Surprising adventure of our Parsons attacking, and carrying the Widow in a Short storm." [13]

In the summer following this third marriage, Mary became insistent that she be paid what was owed her—probably being incited to this insistency by her new husband. In July, Major Horton, in command of the troops at Frederica, told Noble Jones that the next time he was up Savannah way to go on up the river to the "Grange," where Mary lived, and deliver to her two letters, one from Oglethorpe and the other from Horton. In these letters they assured her that they would take care of her financial needs, for King George's War had just now got well started and there was genuine fear that the French to the westward might stir up the Indians to attack Georgia. Mary was still needed to control them. When Jones reached Savannah, Stephens, always ready for a trip anywhere, suggested that the two go up the river together. They made the trip, and Stephens thought they did much to mollify Mary.[14]

Thomas Bosomworth, being more of a speculator than a preacher, was soon making large purchases of cattle and horses in South Carolina with which to stock St. Catherine and Sapelo islands, and with Mary's connivance hoping to pay for them with money got from a settlement of Mary's claims. With great cunning and trickery they were able to convince the Indians that Mary was actually their Queen and that the Georgians in not settling her claims were insulting her loving subjects as well as their Queen. The trouble came to a head in the summer of 1749, when a great mass of Indians, chiefs, headmen, warriors, squaws, and children came to Savannah unannounced and created a reign of terror which lasted almost a month. The Bosomworths were hoping to use the occasion to force a settlement. The busiest man in Georgia during this time was Noble Jones, for he was commander of the militia, and on his head rested in no mean degree the fate of the province.[15]

The vanguard of the Indians arrived on July 22, followed soon by the main body, and they did not leave until August 19.

Captain Jones drew up his troops "in the compleatest order, and full of Spirits," and paraded them to the satisfaction of Stephens and the Assistants. Informing the Indians that they would not be allowed to enter the town with their arms, Jones at the head of his cavalry marched out to the boundary of some reserved Indian lands, where the Indians were encamped, to receive them and conduct them into Savannah. The Indians fired their weapons and laid them down, and Jones, interpreting this to be a salute, returned it. At the head of the Indians was Thomas Bosomworth "in his Canonical Habit" with his brother Adam, followed by Mary and Malatchee, a king of the Creeks whom Mary had bewitched, and then came the main body of the Indians. When this procession reached the foot militia they were greeted by a salute of fifteen pieces of cannon. Thereupon the procession, headed by the foot soldiers and brought up by the cavalry, marched into town to President Stephens's house where he and the Assistants received them. From this time until the Indians were finally induced to leave, there was great tension, which at any time might have resulted in a general conflict and conflagration. The dangers were increased by the free use of liquors by the Indians and by the incendiary machinations of Mary and Thomas Bosomworth. Noble Jones's militia were constantly under arms, patrolling the streets night and day.

As part of the maneuvers to quiet the Indians and induce them to leave peaceably, Stephens decided to distribute presents to them. Noble Jones escorted seventy of the chiefs and headmen to the courthouse, where they were to receive the distribution and after "the usual Ceremony of Pipes and Glasses" but before Stephens was able to proceed further, Malatchee arose and declared that it was only by Mary's permission that the British were allowed to live there, "for that she was here before the Squire (meaning General Oglethorpe) brought any White People; that She gave them liberty to Settle; that the Lands they now lived on were held under her; that all the Lands they should Settle on, should be held from her, for that She was the Queen and Head of their Nation; that her Talk was their Talk, and that what she said they would stand by." [16] Part of the plot

was for Mary and Thomas Bosomworth to get a goodly share of the presents to help pull themselves out of debt; but in this they failed for a large part of the presents were distributed "in the most Publick and Shewey Manner, except their Ammunition, which they were told would be delivered them, when they went away, it not being proper to bring it, where there were Pipes and Tobacco.—But a farther Reason was, that it was not thought adviseable, to trust them with such a quantity of Powder, 'till their real Designs were farther known." [17]

Malatchee having shaken off his ill humor and become friendly again suggested "that they might smoak a friendly Pipe, and Spend the Evening with the Beloved Men in Mirth." They were escorted to the town tavern by Noble Jones's troop of horses "who have Shewn themselves on this occasion very alert and ready." This apparent winning of the Indians away from Mary's designs was too much for her to endure, whereupon she "rushed into the Room, in the most violent outrageous and unseemly manner, that a Woman Spirited up with Liquor, Drunk with passion, and disapointed [*sic*] in her Views could be guilty of." All attempts to hush her up failed, and she, "if possible, grew more outrageous, and in the most insulting Manner declared, She was Empress and Queen of the Upper and Lower Creeks, Yea, went so far in her imaginary Sovereignty, as to call herself King, and that She could command every Man in those Nations to follow her," and that the British should soon know it to their cost.

The colonial authorities threatened to arrest her if she did not quiet down. She had now cast her spell on Malatchee again, and here in the midst of what had been intended to be a love feast, he "rose up, incensed with Rage, foaming at the Mouth, like a Mad Beast, called on his People and said, tye her as soon as they would, He would untie her." Mary was hustled off to prison, and that night few people in Savannah slept, and the militia remained under arms. Finally on August 19, this nightmare came to an end. The Indians asked for food and boats for their journey back home, "which was chearfully complied

with, as their absence was very agreeable.—Accordingly about Eleven o'Clock the greatest part of the Indians went off." [18]

These happenings were not the end of Mary's machinations. She and Thomas had failed to get a part of the Indian presents (she had modestly asked for a third of them), but she saw a much greater prize in the distance. When Oglethorpe had originally made a treaty with the Creeks in 1733, he had reserved for the Indians a small area above Savannah called the Yamacraw Tract and the three islands of Ossabaw, St. Catherine, and Sapelo. Now as "Queen of the Creeks" Mary claimed these lands as her own and she got some of the chiefs to swear that it was so. Mary pushed her claims both in Savannah and in London, and when the Trustees gave up Georgia in 1752 without satisfying her, she, Thomas, and others who had become involved, sought action from the King's government, and in 1754 Mary and Thomas went to England to pursue this will-o'-the-wisp. The Board of Trade referred the matter back to John Reynolds, who had now become the first royal governor of Georgia. Noble Jones all along had been sternly opposed to recognizing Mary's claims, but Governor Reynolds seems to have been dishonestly mixed up in promoting the cession of these lands to her; and by his opposition to any shady deals Jones won the enmity of Reynolds, as will hereafter appear. But finally in 1760, when Reynolds had gone and Henry Ellis was governor, a settlement was made whereby Mary and Thomas were awarded as their own St. Catherine Island and the sum of £2,100 if so much could be realized from the sale of the other two islands. They were later sold for £2,050. Mary and Thomas lived on in their island kingdom among their cows and horses until Mary finally died and Thomas married her chambermaid.

It seems that the Bosomworths' invasion of Savannah in 1749 would have taught the Georgians that they should keep up some semblance of a military establishment, but it was not so. For as soon as Mary, Malatchee, and the other Indians had gone back home, no one showed further interest in being a soldier. Though there was peace among all the nations of the earth, still the

French had designs on Georgia, and the Indians were still susceptible to their wiles, for pretty soon after Malatchee had left Savannah it was reported that he was flying a French flag in his village. And in the summer of 1750 one of Noble Jones's sons went to Savannah to tell Stephens that "an Indian Man and Woman who spoke pretty good English" had come to Wormsloe and reported that some of Mary's and Malatchee's Indians had been marauding the settlements to the southward.[19] There was little truth in this rumor and there may not have been much more truth in a more serious report that was being circulated the next year. It was now being widely and persistently asserted by people who seemed to know, that the Cherokees, probably having come under the influence of the French, were plotting to kill all white traders and other white people who resided in the Indian country.

Insistent demands that the militia be reorganized and that officers be appointed in various parts of the province "to train, Exercise and command them," led the President and Assistants to act in April 1751. For the Savannah region, they appointed Noble Jones to be captain of the cavalry and to be lieutenant, Newdigate Stephens, a son of old William Stephens, now in retirement at his Bewlie plantation home. Noble Jones's son Noble Wimberly was appointed ensign in the company of foot soldiers. At the same time, it was decreed that all able-bodied men who owned as much as 300 acres of land should appear "well accoutered on Horse-back" and that the others should come on foot "properly armed." [20] In early June there was a general muster for Savannah and adjacent settlements, in which about 220 horse and foot soldiers turned out, "well armed and accoutered" who "behaved well, and made a pretty appearance." [21] Noble Jones was in command, having recovered from "a severe Fever," which had prostrated him in the early part of the year.[22] Parading troops gave the Georgians a feeling of security, but the Indians remained peaceful and the soldiers soon forgot the alarms of war.

When William Stephens retired from the presidency he also ceased to be the Trustees' secretary in Georgia. To take his place

in the latter capacity, the Trustees appointed James Habersham, who had for some time been one of the Assistants. Probably no one could have provided the Trustees with a more minute and gossipy account of what went on in and around Savannah than Stephens had done; but as he had little way of finding out about affairs up the river as far as Augusta and down the coast to Frederica and Darien, he had not been able to send the Trustees much information on these regions. In order not to burden Habersham unduly in making a needed report on the "Condition of the several Settlements in the Province, as well as of the Province in general," they sent over to Georgia for this purpose and to promote the silk business Pickering Robinson.[23] It was planned that the two should make an extensive trip through the province to gather this information, but Habersham begged to be relieved from this further burden because of his poor state of health occasioned "by a severe Cold," which had settled in his head. He also pleaded public and private business as another reason for not going. But he knew no more proper person to accompany Robinson than Noble Jones, "who is well acquainted with every Tract of Land, that has been granted, since our first Settlement." [24]

Early the next year Jones was ready to set out to the southward; but Robinson was so interested in promoting the silk business, urged on no doubt by Habersham, who was equally interested, that he never seemed to be able to pull himself away. Even in June he was still not ready, and by this time Jones was so busied with organizing the militia that it was not fit that he should leave—and Habersham gave as an additional reason that Jones's presence at that time was absolutely necessary to form a meeting of the board of Assistants. And so time slipped by until a whole year had passed and still Robinson could not go. Now he had important business in South Carolina and thence he must return to Europe and he must give up entirely all thoughts of making the report; but Jones was willing to go ahead and complete the inquiry. He was busily working on the report in early 1752 and Habersham was urging him "by every Means to complete it without Loss of Time." [25] It is not known whether

this report was ever finished, for although Jones had a rich knowledge of Georgia, he did not like to write. It may be assumed, however, that a great deal of information was gathered together and that a census was taken, for the President and Assistants informed the British government in 1753 that the number of people in the province was 2,381 whites and 1,066 Negroes.[26] As Habersham said, in speaking of Jones and Parker, they were "both Men of Sense and Probity, and perhaps know more of the Original People and Settlements of the Colony, than any in it, but neither of them like Writing"; [27] but both because of "their long standing in the Colony, are capable of unfolding many past Occurrences." [28]

The day was fast approaching when the Trustees would according to the provisions of their Charter be required to give up the colony to the King. Even before the dawn was breaking they were conscious that the end was not far off; and in their apparent eagerness to be rid of Georgia they seized time by the forelock and began dickering with the Royal government to take it over a year early. Their survey and census of the province, which they had wanted Jones and Robinson to make, had been prompted somewhat by the feeling that this information would be valuable in making terms with the King on the surrender. Also to make their province appear to have grown into some maturity in the matter of governing itself and therefore make Georgia seem important enough to be continued as a separate colony under the King, the Trustees provided for an elected assembly for Georgia. This assembly should go through the exercises of debating and the parliamentary practices of passing laws, but these laws should have no actual effect beyond being recommendations to the President and Assistants. It met about the middle of January 1751 and continued for three weeks. One of its recommendations was a reorganization of the militia, and as has appeared, the President and Assistants immediately acted in the matter.[29]

In 1751 the Trustees as usual found themselves without funds to carry on the government in Georgia, for people in England had long since ceased to give money to aid the great experi-

ment which everyone knew had failed. So at this time the Trustees decided to take up with the British government the matter of giving up Georgia before the date set in the Charter. For a money grant to see them through their present obligations and for other considerations, the Trustees were willing on their part to give up the province a year early and also to relinquish the valuable right which they held in perpetuity to grant all lands in Georgia. One of the other considerations which the Trustees were extremely desirous of securing, as, indeed, also were the people of Georgia, was that "the Colony of Georgia be confirmed a Separate and Independent Province, as it is expressly declared in his Majesty's Charter it shall be (in confidence of Which the Inhabitants both British and Foreign have gone thither)." [30] There was fear that the King might return the Georgia territory to South Carolina whence it came. The Trustees and the Georgians were equally determined against this danger, for the former wanted some monument to endure which would commemorate their twenty years of efforts, and the latter had long come to have the feeling that South Carolina was hostile to them and had designs on them. The British government refused to accept Georgia unless it was offered free of all conditions, and the Trustees, feeling that their wishes would nevertheless be met, agreed "to make an absolute Surrender of all the Powers, Rights, and Trusts, . . . without any Condition or Limitation." And so, on June 23, 1752 the Trustees signed the terms of surrender and defaced their seal.[31]

CHAPTER VI

Noble Jones, Royal Official

HIS Majesty King George II was now the owner of Georgia, but he had not got it for nothing. Though the British government had not paid the Trustees anything, yet it had paid a very substantial part of the expenses of the upkeep of the province through parliamentary grants and had defended it in the War of Jenkins' Ear. Nevertheless, the sacrifices for Georgia which the Trustees and many private citizens of England had made should not be minimized, and particular mention should be made of the contributions of Oglethorpe in Georgia and of Egmont in England.

It did not take the King long to decide that Georgia should become a Royal colony; he was in no frame of mind to grant it away again and make of it a proprietary colony as was Pennsylvania and Maryland or to give it self-government like Connecticut. It would be governed as the other Royal colonies such as South Carolina and Virginia; for thereby the British government would exercise closer control. So Georgia would now have a governor and council, an elected legislature, and a set of courts —a system of government somewhat reminiscent of the Trustee period but, nevertheless, fundamentally different.

For the first time the executive would be called governor and have the powers generally at that time associated with that officer. The governor held his office by royal appointment and served as long as the King wanted him. He appointed all the local officials except the councilors and the members of the legislature and he could veto laws. But his most important power (in conjunction with the council) in effecting the growth of the

colony was to grant land, a power which the Trustees had heretofore possessed.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the government was the Council, made up of a dozen men appointed by the King, which was in the remarkable position of holding executive, legislative, and judicial powers. Acting as a sort of cabinet for the governor, its advice and consent were necessary in various matters. It was the upper house of the general assembly, and thereby took an equal part with the lower house in passing laws, except that it could not initiate money bills. It was also the highest court in the land, a court of appeals, exceeded only by the Privy Council in England to which certain cases might be appealed. The lower house, called the Commons House of Assembly, was the only part of the government which rested on the votes of the people. Its original number was nineteen, slightly increased later.

The judicial system, in addition to the Council acting as a court of appeals, consisted of the General Court (or Superior Court) and the Court of Oyer and Terminer, which always sat in Savannah, the inferior courts, generally called Courts of Conscience, which were held throughout the province, and certain special courts such as the Court of Chancery and the Court of Admiralty. The General Court dealt with cases involving property and the Court of Oyer and Terminer concerned itself with people who had committed crimes. But as the same judges soon came to preside over both courts, they may be considered as constituting really one court. The usual number of judges was three, though there were at times as many as five. One of them was known as the chief justice, who was generally sent over directly from England. The Courts of Conscience were the people's courts, for all of their petty disputes and breaches of the peace were tried in these courts, presided over by justices of the peace, who knowing little or no law let their conscience be their guide.

There were, of course, other officials, the exercise of whose powers and duties were necessary for the proper governing of the colony. Such were the treasurer, the attorney-general, the surveyor-general, provost mashals, and constables.

In this new Royal government of Georgia, Noble Jones was to play a part even more prominent than during the period of the Trustees. He was a member of the Royal Council, with a brief interlude, from the beginning to his death. Though weak and infirm in his old age, he continued to attend Council meetings until two and a half months before his death. At all times he was prominent on the Council and faithful in his attendance. When committees were appointed to consider amendments to House bills or to confer with committees of the House, or to formulate addresses to the governor or to the King, or to deal in some other formal capacity representing the Council, Noble Jones was more likely than not to be a member. Occasionally he served as president of the Council.[1]

The principle which was developed later in American history, of a person holding only one important office at a given time, had not yet been born in these times, for as was true during the Trustee period, so now, Jones held three prominent positions and one or more as a minor appointee or member of a special commission. In the beginning he was appointed one of the judges of the General Court and of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and served to the end of his days.[2] Part of the time he served as "Senior Justice" or chief justice as otherwise denominated,[3] and thereafter he remained as "Senior Assistant Justice of the Province" except for a period of 1768–1769, when he was the chief justice. In commenting on the period of Jones's chief justiceship, Governor James Wright said that "although Mr. Jones was not bred to the law, yet I believe that justice only was administered during that time and with integrity, and I have not heard any complaint made or fault found with his conduct."[4]

Though Jones had not been bred to the law, his judicial services must have soon endowed him with a liberal amount of knowledge in the subject. For as a member of the Council he served as a judge of the Court of Appeals and as a judge of the General Court and of the Court of Oyer and Terminer he gained further experience; but he had still other judicial duties. He was during most of the Royal period one of the half hundred or

more justices of the peace, and being appointed from the Council, he was designated as one of the "Justices of the Province," which meant that he might exercise this authority anywhere in Georgia; whereas most of the others were designated for certain districts.[5]

Noble Jones became treasurer of the province in 1760 and continued to hold this position of trust and honor until his death. His duties required him not only to safekeep the public monies but also to perform related minor tasks such as issuing various kinds of licenses for which a fee was charged, and offering rewards for runaways, murderers, and other lawbreakers.[6]

As all of Jones's positions were appointive by the governor, except that of Councilor, which came in the name of the King but which was in fact suggested by the governor, he kept on good terms with all three of the governors, save one. This one was John Reynolds, who was the first Royal governor of the province. It fell to this man, a captain in the British navy, to institute Royal control in Georgia and to fit the people into this new scheme.

As has already appeared, the Trustees had on June 23, 1752 defaced their seal, closed the doors of their office, and turned the province over to the King. The British government was probably taken by surprise in thus receiving Georgia a year before it would automatically have come according to the Charter, and it was left without a plan of government for its new possession. To provide a government during the interim, the old Trustee officials in Georgia continued their services as if nothing had happened, and not until more than two years later did John Reynolds arrive as "Captain General, and Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony of Georgia in America, and Vice Admiral of the same." On October 29, 1754 he landed in Savannah on a man-of-war, and the next day he attended the last meeting of the President and Assistants, when Patrick Graham "delivered up the Chair to his Excellency," and announced that the Board could not "omit acknowledging with the Greatest Gratitude, His Majesty's Paternal Care in appointing and sending over a Governor, and setling [*sic*] the Government of this prov-

ince, which was so much wanted." [7] Reynolds now read the names of the Royal Council, which included all of the old Trustee Assistants and five additional Councilors, and announced that all would take the oath at a Council meeting on the following day.

On the thirty-first, Reynolds, after taking the oath of governor, administered to Noble Jones and the other Councilors present the following oath:

"You do swear, that you Faith and true Allegiance bear unto His most sacred Majesty King George the second, and to His Heirs and Successors, and shall be true and faithful to His Excellency John Reynolds Esqr., as He is commissionated Captain General and Governor in Chief, in and over His Majesty's Province, and that you will, in the Place and Office of his [*sic*] Majesty's Councillor of this Province well and faithfully serve his said Majesty and promote the Good of His Majesty's Affairs with your best Advice and Council—You shall with your best Ability defend this Province from all foreign Invasions and intestine Insurrections; You shall not countenance or conceal any Plott or seditious Conspiracy, or any treasonable or seditious Speeches against His said Majesty, His Heirs or Successors, or His said Excellency, but you shall give speedy Notice thereof unto His said Excellency, or to some Member of the Council; the secret Debates of the Council, you shall not reveal directly or indirectly, All which you shall to the utmost of your Ability perform—So help you God." [8]

Governor Reynolds also announced that all of the old Trustee officers, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, should until further notice continue in their respective positions. Thus for the time being, it is seen that there was no change of personnel in the government of Georgia except for the addition of a governor and five Councilors, and, of course, the filling of the new offices created under the Royal control; but, indeed, there was a fundamental change in the government of the colony and Governor Reynolds was now to enter into a period of turbulence and confusion, mostly of his own making, which lasted until he was recalled two years later.

Untrained in civil administration, Reynolds knew best how to give orders in the King's navy, but as the Georgians were not in the navy they came soon to resent and oppose most of what Reynolds did or tried to do. Though the personnel set-up which Reynolds found on his arrival made it easy for him to start his rule, it was in the long run a great hindrance to the successful transition from the Trustee form of government to Royal control. The old Assistants, who had been ruling Georgia for a decade, did not readily give in to a novice in civil government; and the members of the Commons House of Assembly as unaccustomed to the duties of civil officials as Reynolds was and freshly elected by people who never before had exercised the power of voting—at least not in Georgia—in short, these legislators were spirited up by this new wine and were in no frame of mind to take orders from Reynolds. And if Reynolds had not inherently been inept enough, he brought with him as his private secretary William Little, on whom he showered all the emoluments of the office he held and the favors of others to which he appointed him; and Little reciprocated by acting as the willing tool of his benefactor in ways that seemed to indicate that Reynolds was trying to set up a little dictatorship. So there was soon open warfare between Reynolds and Little on the one side and the Councilors and members of the House on the other. Noble Jones was the principal leader in this fight against Reynolds and Little.[9] The attempt to get rid of Little failed through the obstinacy of the Governor to drop his chief lieutenant, but Reynolds himself became a casualty before the fight was ended.

But also before the end Noble Jones became a casualty too. Not only had he fallen from the Governor's grace because of his fight against Little, but also he had greatly offended Reynolds in the matter of solving that eternal and omnipresent problem presented by Mary and Thomas Bosomworth relative to their Indian claims. The situation at this time is somewhat obscure, but it seems that Reynolds was interested, possibly in a financial way, in having the disputed title of the Bosomworths to the Yamacraw Bluff tract and the three sea islands, settled in their favor. Soon after Mary and Thomas Bosomworth and their In-

dians had been induced to leave Savannah, the President and Assistants decided to send Patrick Graham, one of the Assistants and "Agent to distribute His Majesty's Presents to the Indians," [10] to the Upper and Lower Creeks to purchase those reserved lands which the Bosomworths claimed as their own.[11] Graham set out in late April 1751 and after a journey of two months was back again with a treaty signed by the Upper Creeks, granting these lands to the Trustees in return for "a valuable Parcel of Cloth, Guns, Ammunition, Hatches, Beads, Paint, and other Goods and Manufactures." The Lower Creeks, still under the influence of Malatchee, refused to sell but agreed to let the Trustees use these lands as long as they pleased.[12]

While Graham was on this trip, the Trustees in London on June 1, not knowing what was going on in Georgia, authorized the President and Assistants or any two of them to treat with the Creeks for the purchase of these lands.[13] Apparently nothing further was done as Graham was back from his negotiations before this authorization reached Georgia. If it was held that Graham had failed, then there was no reason to try again—at least not soon; and if he had been successful, then, too, there was no need for further action. But Mary and Thomas Bosomworth did not give up their efforts for they continued to belabor the authorities in England, even after the Trustees gave up Georgia, and when Governor Reynolds arrived, they were able to get his sympathetic attention. In 1756 Reynolds wrote a letter to each of the surviving Assistants who held that position in 1749, including Noble Jones among them, asking for their defense against certain charges which the Bosomworths had brought against them for the way in which they had reported that famous affair in Savannah. Jones replied on August 21 that he should not be held responsible for some action which he could have had no part in, for he had not become an Assistant until a year later. Reynolds replied that he might as well have been one of the Assistants at that time, on account of the prominent part which he played.[14]

Undoubtedly Noble Jones had become very obnoxious to Reynolds, for on December 15, 1756 the Governor announced to the Council "that he had thought Proper to suspend Noble Jones

Esqr. from all his Offices for reasons which he would lay before the King." The Council considered this to be "a matter of Great Consequence." [15] Jones had not appeared at a Council meeting since the seventh of the month and he was not to be on the Council again until three years later.

But Reynolds himself was on the verge of being supplanted, for two months later (February 16, 1757) he held his last Council meeting. Henry Ellis attended, freshly arrived from England, and handed to Reynolds a letter from the King informing him that he should return to England and that Ellis should become lieutenant governor. That day Ellis took the oath of office and entered upon his duties. Two years later (February 26, 1759) Ellis took the oath of governor, and on July 6 following, King George II appointed Noble Jones to the Council again. On November 24 he took the oath and on December 4 he appeared at the meeting of the Council, to remain thereafter a Councilor until his death.[16] Undoubtedly Henry Ellis had recommended the reinstatement of Jones on the Council, for a few months previously, Ellis had written the Board of Trade that Reynolds had supplanted Jones "to gratify Mr. Little & it is positively affirmed to promote the establishment of Bosomworths Titles to the Indian Lands with a view to share the spoils." [17] Noble Jones worked harmoniously with Governor Ellis, who was generally liked by the people. But Governor Ellis wearied of his Georgia assignment. His health was not good, and soon he asked to be relieved. On May 30, 1760 King George II appointed James Wright to be lieutenant governor of Georgia, and on the following October 31 Wright appeared at the Council meeting in Savannah and took the various oaths of office and immediately Ellis sailed for England. Georgia was to prosper under Wright, who had already had much governmental experience in South Carolina, and he was to rule almost three times as long as the other two governors combined.

Probably one reason why the Crown had picked as the first governor of Georgia a man brought up in the traditions of war rather than one trained in the art of civil government, was the fact that four months before Reynolds arrived, open conflict had

broken out between England and France. On July 4, 1754 George Washington, a young Virginia officer, after a bloody battle gave up to the French, Fort Necessity, on the frontiers of western Pennsylvania. This was the beginning of the French and Indian War, which two years later fanned out into the Seven Years War, to include Europe and regions as far away as India. Though the English were in the midst of these wars, Georgia did not become involved. It was by her good luck that this was so, for the French to the westward in their Louisiana, made great efforts to incite the Southern Indians against the English—the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and the Cherokees, too. The Spaniards in Florida, drawn into the war during its last two years, had little time or opportunity to attack Georgia, as they unsuccessfully attempted to defend Havana against the English.

By maintaining good relations with the Indians, all three of Georgia's Royal governors had a part in saving the province from the devastations of war, and all were concerned in making Georgia as defensible as possible. Even so, the Cherokee War broke out in 1760 and seared the borders of Georgia but did not involve the colony. Governor Reynolds had evolved a plan of forts to be placed along the seacoast and the western frontier, but he was unable to secure aid from England. Governors Ellis and Wright were equally interested but neither made much progress.

Noble Jones was probably the most seasoned warrior to continue on in Georgia after the end of the War of Jenkins' Ear, but he was called upon to do no fighting during the French and Indian War. In planning the construction of those forts which Georgia actually built, Jones was generally assigned a part. In 1757 he was placed on a commission to supervise the construction of a ring of log forts to protect Savannah, and three years later, to strengthen the fortifications of Christ Church Parish, in which Savannah was located. And in 1761 he was appointed one of the commissioners to erect a fort and battery on Cockspur Island, near the mouth of the Savannah River, and a battery and lookout at the mouth of the Midway River. These fortifications were called forth by the fear of an attack from the Spaniards in Florida, now that Spain had entered the war. To pay for this work, the

legislature issued certificates, and Jones was appointed to be one of the commissioners to print and sign this money.[18] In the promotion of further defense, the legislature appointed Jones as one of a group to erect in or near Savannah a magazine made of brick or stone "sufficient to contain five hundred barrils [*sic*] of powder." [19] This was undoubtedly the magazine which in 1775 Noble Jones's patriotic son Noble Wimberly helped to seize and rob of 600 pounds of powder.

In addition to supervising the building of forts, Noble Jones was long concerned with constructing, reconstructing, and inspecting Tybee Lighthouse. The necessity for this aid to navigation, on Tybee Island at the mouth of the Savannah River, had been seen from the first settlement of the colony, and soon after Savannah had been founded plans were developed for constructing a light tower there. By 1735, the beacon was reported to be nearly completed, and two years later it was in use. The lighthouse was ninety feet high.[20] But apparently it was of flimsy construction for in 1738 the prediction was made that unless it was painted, weatherboarded, and otherwise repaired, it would soon fall down.[21] During the War of Jenkins' Ear, Stephens was much disturbed by the fear that it would collapse. He went with Jones and others down to inspect it, and having great respect for Jones's ability as a carpenter, he accepted his judgment against the advice of others, that it could be fixed by means of scaffolding and so saved.[22] Soon Stephens had a group of workmen following Jones's plan to repair the tower and he promised to give them "a Barrel of Beer to drink," if they hurried the work to completion and to place "a Flag flying on the Top from the Flagstaff properly fixed." It was finished in early 1742, and at that time Stephens went down to see it.[23] Noble Jones now made a final inspection and forwarded his report to Oglethorpe, who thought that it ought to be fortified and garrisoned to prevent the Spaniards from landing and destroying it.[24]

But Tybee Light was a constant concern of the provincial government to the very end. By 1768 it was in such a ruinous condition that the general assembly appropriated £2,000 for con-

structing a new one. The tower was to be relocated and built of brick. It was to be 120 feet high. Noble Jones was one of the commissioners to supervise the work.[25] By 1772 he had grown old in his watchful concern for Tybee Light, and at this time he announced that he declined being further interested; though the next year he was one of three Councilors appointed to go down to view the new lighthouse and make a report on it.[26]

There was also on Tybee Island another important structure, with which Jones was concerned. As plantations now were spreading out through the province of Georgia, ships with cargoes of slaves, mostly from the West Indies but also from Africa, frequently made their way up the Savannah River. To prevent any of the diseases which slaves might have from being brought into the colony, the General Assembly in 1767 bought 104 acres of land on Tybee Island from Josiah Tattnall, on which to erect a lazaretto and other necessary buildings, where slaves afflicted with disease might "be properly lodged and attended." Noble Jones was appointed one of five commissioners to carry into effect this project.[27]

If the government of Georgia had by this time developed sufficiently to have had a commissioner of public works, Noble Jones would undoubtedly have been given the title. For in addition to supervising the construction of forts, lighthouses, and lazarettos, he was also concerned with giving the colony a new set of governmental buildings. Colonial Georgia had no public buildings as impressive as Governor William Tryon's palace in Edenton, North Carolina, or the governor's palace and capitol building in Williamsburg, Virginia; but Georgia as other colonies had to have quarters for carrying on governmental activities and during the short span of her forty-two years of colonial life, she made reasonable progress. During the time when the Trustees ruled the province little was done, and when the first Royal governor arrived and took charge he found the government house in a ruinous condition and apparently ready to collapse at any time. At the very moment when he and the Council were discussing the matter, they were thrown into great alarm by one end of the building falling, together with a chim-

ney stack; and only providentially did they escape "being buried in the Ruins." As this building was beyond repair, they decided to investigate the possibilities of using the filature, where the silk cocoons were unwound. On learning that this large hall was no longer used for that purpose, they appointed Noble Jones with James Habersham and Jonathan Bryan to examine the building to see what needed to be done to it to make it ready for the meetings of the Council and of the Commons House of Assembly. Two days later Jones informed the Council that they had completed their plan and made their estimate, and shortly thereafter he had the carpenters and bricklayers to attend the Council to state their proposals for doing the work. The Council appointed Jones to superintend the new construction, and advised him to salvage and use as much material as possible from the old council house, which was being demolished, such as bricks, doors, and sashes.[28] So the old filature, where fine strands of silk had formerly been unwound, now became the legislative halls of Georgia, where a few years later fine-spun theories of natural rights and human liberties were likewise to be unwound.

The governor's house in Georgia was never called a palace and only infrequently was it called a mansion. In the days of the Trustees, Oglethorpe as chief executive lived at Frederica and later Stephens and the succeeding presidents lived in their own private residences in Savannah. But by 1760 the Council and Commons House of Assembly felt that the dignity of the colony and the governor demanded a publicly owned home for the governor, including offices, outhouses, and other appurtenances. As it had become almost an invariable custom to put Noble Jones in charge of any new constructions or repairs of public buildings, it is not surprising that he and four others were now by law appointed trustees to see that this mission was carried out. They were not allowed to spend more than £500.[29]

Thus by 1760 the legislature and the executive had been provided for, but the courts were still forced to meet in an old building on Wright Square, in "a decayed and ruinous Condition," so rudimentary as not to have jury rooms. In 1764 the General

Assembly passed a law providing for the expenditure of not over £600 to be used in pulling down the old courthouse and erecting on the same spot "another Court-House in its stead with Jury-Rooms and other Necessary Conveniences." As usual Jones was one of the commissioners for carrying out the law, and the next year he and five other commissioners were carrying an advertisement in the *Georgia Gazette,* inviting bids on lumber, brick, lime, and other materials needed for the new structure.[30]

The erection of one important structure engaged the attention of the people from the day of their landing until it was completed seventeen years later. This was Christ Church, the place of worship for those colonists who were members of the Church of England; and although Noble Jones was of that religious persuasion and was the chief architect in the colony, he had little to do with the building of this structure. By 1745, Stephens reported to the Trustees that the church was almost finished except for the interior and that he had been trying to get Noble Jones, "whose Qualifications are well known," to estimate the cost of bringing it to completion, and that only recently had Jones found time to act. Though Jones had spent two days making his estimates, he refused to accept recompense; Stephens was determined, however, that the Trustees should pay him.[31] Actually the church was not finished until 1750, when on the seventh of July, the anniversary of the Battle of Bloody Marsh, it was dedicated.

The Trustees were anxious to promote religion in Georgia and with the support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which paid the salaries of the ministers, they were generally successful in having a minister in the colony. When Stephens became President of Georgia, the Trustees instructed him "to take care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly honoured and Served throughout Your District according to the Rites of the Church of England, but You shall allow a Free Toleration to all Protestant Dissenters of every Denomination nor shall You exercise any Inquisition on the private Opinions of any One, but permit Liberty of Con-

science to all that are contented with a quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of the same, and give no Offence or Scandal to the Government established." [32] Not only should there be this religious freedom, but religion in Georgia should be administered in a simple style. The Trustees ordered that "to save Expences discourage Vanity and Pride of Distinction, and make the Church more usefull to the Inhabitants . . . there be no other Pews Erected therein, but one for the Minister and One for the Magistrates; and instead of other Pews that there be Benches as in the Chapel at Tunbridge, and in some Country Churches in England, whereby there will be more Room for the Inhabitants who attend the Publick Service." [33]

Religion made little progress in Georgia during the first dozen years despite the efforts of the Trustees and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Henry Herbert, "bastard son to the E. of Torrington," was the first minister, coming over on the first ship, but after a few months, sickness forced him to return, and he died at sea on his way back.[34] He was succeeded by Samuel Quincy, a New Englander, who seemed to be more of a politician than a preacher as he lined up with the Malcontents, and to escape being discharged by the Trustees, in 1735 he resigned "on pretence he could not remain longer absent from his wife." [35] Oglethorpe, now in England, induced John Wesley to come to be the minister in Georgia. With his brother Charles he arrived in February of the following year. Charles lasted only a few months, but John lingered on amidst turmoil and confusion, which he had helped to make for himself, until December 1737 when he "run away." [36] Next came William Norris in 1738, who "did not answer what was expected of him, . . . quarreled with Col. Oglethorpe & the officers, and behaved very malapertly, . . . also neglected his duty." He returned three years later.[37] During Norris's ministry, George Whitefield at intervals was in Georgia serving the Savannah congregation while Norris was assigned to Frederica; but Whitefield's chief interests were in setting up the Bethesda Orphan School. Furthermore his impetuous and zealous style of preaching in which he did not always adhere to

the ritual of the Church of England, got him into no end of controversy inside Georgia and out. These were the years of the birth pangs of Methodism. Whitefield also had trouble with the Trustees as he tried to prevent them from exercising any control over his Orphan School. The Trustees let it be known that if Whitefield's Orphans were "taught only Latin and other things, which may be needless for them to know, and at the same time are kept Ignorant and unemployed in Business and Work, which their Stations in life will make necessary for them to be instructed in, and used to; or if any principles are instilled into them, which may give their minds an Enthusiastick turn, or an Enmity to the profession or persons of any who worship God in a different way, it may become necessary that a Stop should be put to such an Education." [38]

On Norris's return to England, the Trustees designated William Metcalf as missionary to Georgia, but he died before he reached his field of labor. Christopher Orton was next. He lived to arrive in Georgia in 1741, but he died the next year. The next appointment in this long list of misfits was the most disastrous of all—Thomas Bosomworth, who with his wife Mary was to become notorious for machinations and speculations.

It might well be said that not until 1746 were religious administrations carried on in Savannah with proper decorum and respectability. The previous year Bosomworth had been dropped and Bartholomew Zouberbuhler, a Switzerlander but long a resident of South Carolina, was appointed. Arriving in early 1746, for the next twenty years Zouberbuhler remained as minister of the Church of England in Savannah. Noble Jones, whose Wormsloe estate adjoined Whitefield's Bethesda Orphan School lands, had no quarrels with this great preacher and humanitarian, but not until Zouberbuhler came did Jones take a prominent part in the religious interests of the colony. The Church of England in Georgia under Zouberbuhler now became respectable and Jones was one of its enthusiastic supporters. As Jones grew older he became more active in church affairs, and during the last twenty years of his life he was occasionally elected by the freeholders of Christ Church Parish one of the two church

wardens and more frequently one of the ten vestrymen of the Parish.[39]

It was in 1758 that the general assembly of Georgia in order "to promote the Honour of God, the propogation [*sic*] of the true Christian Religion, and the Spiritual Welfare" of the people, established in the colony "the Regular performance of Divine Service, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England on Sundays and other days." This establishment of the Church of England did not interfere with religious freedom, and according to the act its chief practical value was in providing a division of the colony into eight parishes, named for saints, except Christ Church Parish, with boundaries well-defined. Previously the various "districts" had no clear limits but were vaguely described as lying around certain towns such as Darien, Halifax, Midway, Augusta, Savannah, and so on. Commissioners were designated to locate in each parish a church building, a parsonage, and a cemetery. The freeholders in each parish irrespective of their religion were charged with electing vestrymen and church wardens, who with the rector, should provide "Bread and Wine for the Holy Eucharist," pay the salaries of a clerk and sexton, whom they should appoint, make "provisions for impotent Poor Persons," and for these expenses to levy a tax. It was the duty of the church wardens to provide a "fair, well bound paper, or parchment" book in which the minister (and in his absence the wardens) should record all the births, christenings, marriages, and burials in the parish.[40]

It will be noted that the salaries of the rectors were not a charge against the public treasury and that only the necessary functions of a government were to be paid for under this establishment. And furthermore, neither the freeholders nor the church wardens and vestrymen, whom they elected, needed to be Anglicans. But even so, little was ever done to carry out this law apart from the Savannah and Augusta parishes; ten years and more after this law had been passed, Noble Jones and his son Noble Wimberly were acting as commissioners to apply it.[41]

If anything needed to be investigated, promoted, or built, Noble Jones was more than likely one of those appointed to do

it. The Upper House (Council) in 1761 appointed him one of three commissioners to join a like committee of the Commons House of Assembly "to Inquire into the State and Progress of the Silk Culture," [42] and three years later the Assembly appointed him one of the trustees to see that the public market in Savannah, which had recently been removed to Ellis Square, should be completed and the adjoining area paved. And for the better regulation of the market, they were charged with renting the shops and stalls, and whatever profits might be secured were to be applied to building a schoolhouse and maintaining a schoolmaster.[43]

As Georgia had a large territory but few people, it soon became a special concern of the Royal government to induce people to come to the province. Governor Ellis, and more particularly Governor Wright, pushed this movement. Under the administration of the former in 1758, the General Assembly passed a law to encourage skilled tradesmen to come. By this law, slaves were forbidden to engage in any skilled trade in towns except in that of shipwrights, calkers, sawyers, coopers, porters, or ordinary laborers; but to prevent white tradesmen relieved of slave competition from charging exorbitant wages as carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, plasterers, or as workers in any other occupation, the law provided for commissioners to meet annually and set a scale of wages in all these occupations. But all restrictions against employing slaves were removed, in case a calamity of fire or invasion should require more help in reconstruction than white laborers could supply. Noble Jones was made chairman of a board of nine commissioners appointed to enforce this law.[44]

Governor Wright made it a special concern to attract families and groups of settlers to come to Georgia, and especially to the "Western country," a term applied to all the province west and north of Savannah. During his long administration, Georgia more than trebled her population. In came such groups as the North Carolina Quakers, who settled at Wrightsborough, and the Scotch-Irish direct from North Ireland, at Queensbury, and

a constant stream of people from as far away as Maryland and Pennsylvania, but mostly from Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The time of the Governor and of Councilor Jones and the other Councilmen, meeting as a Council, was almost completely taken up in granting land to incoming settlers. Land was free, except for small fees, and it was granted to individuals in amounts depending on the size of the family and the number of slaves brought in, and to groups, in any amounts that seemed desirable—50,000 acres to the Scotch-Irish and 12,000 to the North Carolina Quakers. As if free land were not attractive enough, the Commons House of Assembly occasionally appropriated money to aid settlers in reaching their lands, by paying the surveyors' fees and building roads. The Scotch-Irish were aided to the amount of £560. Noble Jones was generally chairman of the commissioners appointed to carry out these activities.[45]

This rapid settlement of Georgia was made possible by two large cessions of land by the Indians, in 1763 and 1773. The original cession made in 1733 opened up only a narrow strip about thirty miles wide along the coast, from the Savannah River to the Altamaha. The cession of 1763, coming at the end of the French and Indian War, added all that region up the Savannah River to Little River on the north (about twenty-five miles above Augusta) and southwestward to the Ogeechee River on the west, and a strip about forty miles wide down the coast from the Altamaha to the St. Marys River. The treaty of 1773 added a strip about forty miles wide directly west of the original cession of 1733, extending between the Ogeechee River on the north and the Altamaha on the south, and another strip extending the northern portion of the 1763 cession up the Savannah about sixty miles on beyond the Little River boundary and westward about forty miles. These cessions of 1773 were known as the New Purchase. So fast did settlers come pouring into these regions that some overshot the mark and otherwise came into hostile contact with the Indians. To avert a war, Governor Wright invited a group of Creek chiefs to Savannah, where in

October 1774 they smoothed out their troubles and renewed their pledges of friendship. Noble Jones was one of the Georgia representatives in this congress.[46]

Before the rumblings of discontent with British rule in America began to color governmental activities in Georgia and inject an element of bitterness into them, Noble Jones served on another commission, which performed a valuable service to the colony. For the first thirty years of Georgia's existence, there was no printing press within her limits. Although there was one a hundred miles away in Charleston, South Carolina, the Georgia government made no use of it; instead, "all the Publick transactions" had been "published by hand writing which . . . proved not only tedious and highly expensive but also in most Cases ineffectual." Therefore, in 1762 the General Assembly passed an act appointing to be public printer James Johnston "lately arrived in this Province from Great Britain Recommended as a person regularly bred to and well skilled in the Art and mystery of Printing." He should publish "upon proper paper and with Types fit for such purpose," all the laws hitherto passed by the General Assembly and still in force, and all subsequent laws, as well as "all Proclamations . . . and all other Publick Business that shall be thought necessary to be published." To select those laws still in force and to oversee the execution of this act otherwise, Noble Jones and eight other commissioners were appointed. The next year Johnston published in separate pamphlets thirty-five acts which had been passed and were adjudged by the commissioners to be still in force.[47] In this same year he began the publication of the first newspaper in the colony, the *Georgia Gazette*.

CHAPTER VII

Noble Jones, "Faithful Servant of the Crown"

NOBLE JONES was not only important in his own being but also as the head of a distinguished family. In fact his son Noble Wimberly was to develop a career even more outstanding than that of his father, and his other son Inigo was at least not to go down unnamed in the records of his country. His daughter Mary was a business woman of no mean skill, in an era which assigned women either to the social graces or to menial tasks.

It must have been a source of pride and satisfaction to Noble Jones during the years 1761, 1762, and 1763 when he and both his sons were members of the General Assembly. He was a member of the Upper House, and Noble Wimberly and Inigo sat in the Commons House of Assembly.[1] Inigo was inconspicuous as a legislator, and being the younger son of Noble Jones and, therefore, much under the influence of this staunch old Royalist, he remained a Loyalist throughout the Revolution. He must have continued quiet in the struggle and his comings and goings must not have been considered pernicious by the Patriots, for his name did not appear on either of the confiscations acts of 1778 or 1782. As his brother Noble Wimberly was a powerful leader of the Patriots and was speaker of the house when the former act was passed, it is reasonable to suppose that he might well have suppressed any inclination that any one might have had to include Inigo on the list. And Inigo could well have profited from the remembrance that Georgians had for his eminent father, even though he had remained to the last a Royalist. Living to see

Georgia become a state in the American Union, he died at Wormsloe in 1789 and was buried in the family cemetery near the old fort.[2]

The greatest event that marked the year 1761 in Georgia was proclaiming George III King of Georgia and of the remainder of the British Empire, and swearing allegiance to him. He had succeeded to the throne the previous year, but Georgia could not get ready for the celebration until the following year. On February 11 the Council began the festivities by reading in its hall the proclamation sent over by the Privy Council and submitting it for the signatures of "Numbers of the principal Inhabitants and Planters of the Province who attended for that Purpose." Then Governor Wright and all the Councilors signed it, and the clerk through the open windows of the Council chamber, with the troops drawn up under arms on the outside, read it "audibly and distinctly under a Discharge of twenty one Pieces of Cannon." Then the proclamation was handed to the Provost Marshal, who proceeded to the market place, followed by the Governor and Council, the troops, and the principal inhabitants, and there he read it again "under a like Discharge of Cannon." Next, the procession moved to Fort Halifax where the Provost Marshal read it another time, with the cannon booming forth again twenty-one times and the musketry firing three times. Taking part in this procession were Noble Jones, Councilor, and Inigo his son, member of the Commons House of Assembly, both of whom had signed the proclamation. But conspicuously absent was Noble Wimberly. He neither marched nor signed the proclamation.[3] It cannot be said with certainty whether he was absent by accident or by design, or whether so early he was showing that independence of judgment which was later to make him one of the chief Revolutionists in Georgia. Certainly it is that when the Commons House of Assembly met in the following March, he voiced no opposition to the King's accession.[4] And certainly Georgia would never again be called upon to proclaim another king, for George III lived in body if not in mind for many years after the United States of America had been proclaimed.

From the accession of George III to the end of his reign in Georgia, Noble Jones was in the forefront of those who supported his power and carried out his rule in this Royal colony. Throughout the period he was treasurer and a member of the Council, and for most of the time he was a judge, justice of the peace, and a member of various commissions. He was a King's man upholding the royal prerogative and receiving his positions by appointment; no position which he ever held or desired was secured by the vote of the people. On the other hand, his son Noble Wimberly was a people's man; the positions of honor and trust which he held were bestowed by the people. Yet, so loyal and considerate was the son to the father, that they never clashed in these two opposite trusts which they held. And wherever it was possible to desist from a course of action without violating a fundamental principle, if it were necessary to do so to please his father, Noble Wimberly Jones stood ready. So, when the troubles leading up to the American Revolution began brewing almost with the very accession of George III, Noble Jones stood at the head of the King's party in Georgia and his son Noble Wimberly as the leader of forces on a rising tide, soon to become the wave of the future. But this division was natural and was to be duplicated in many other families, in Georgia and elsewhere. The old man who had grown up in the Old Country was swayed by sentiment and conservatism; the young man who had grown up in the colony saw a New World before him to foster and support. And as the events leading up to the Revolution made it more Noble Wimberly's day than Noble's, the part the father played best unravels itself as incidental to the role of the son.

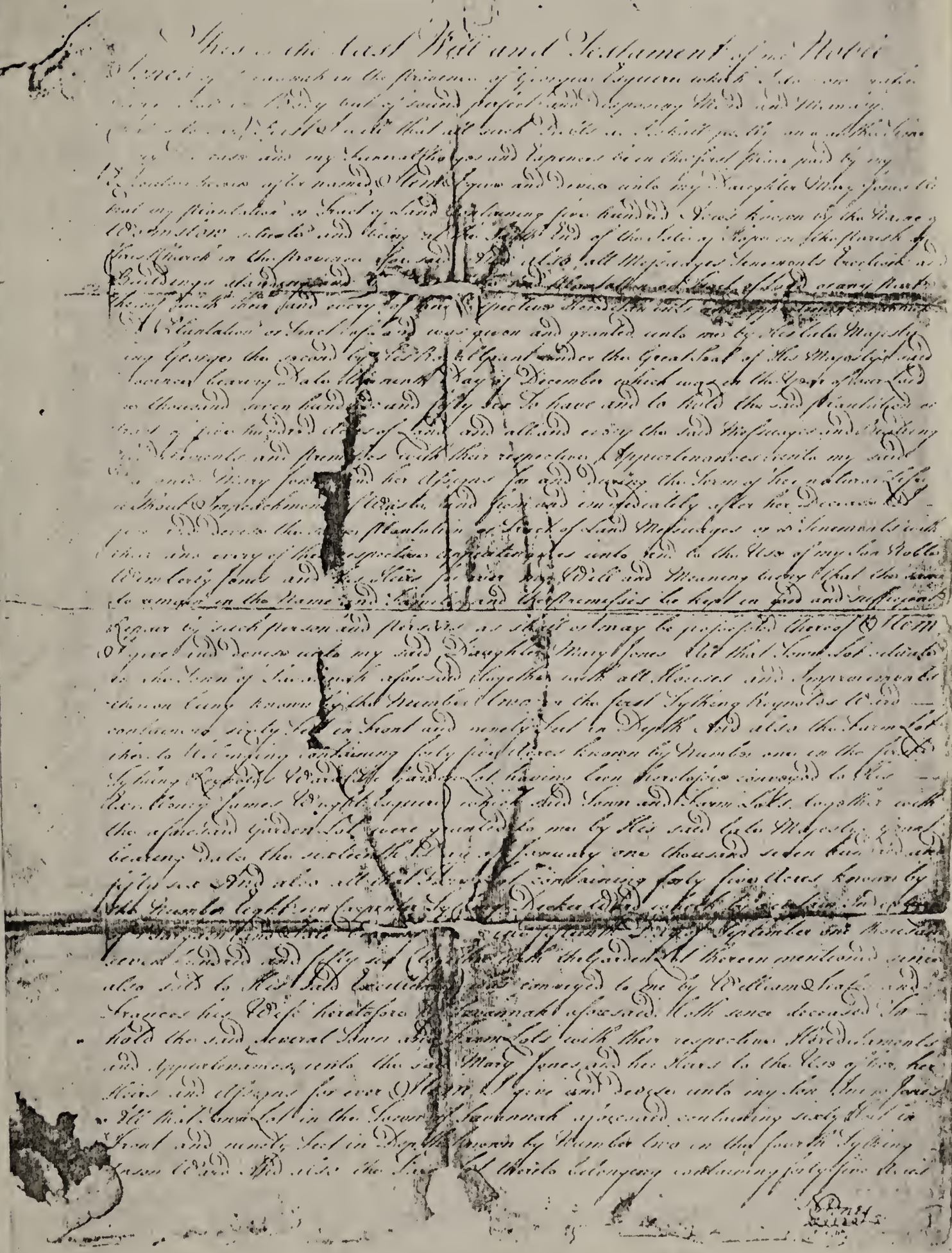
Suffice it to say here that Noble Jones and Noble Wimberly Jones found themselves on many occasions acting their parts on opposite sides, with becoming respect for each other. Many times Noble Jones as a member of the Upper House of Assembly was appointed on committees to deal with like committees of the Commons House of Assembly on which his son was a member; and as the Revolution drew nearer and Royalists and Patriots each held their meetings and passed their resolutions, it was

customary to find Noble Jones attending the former and signing their resolutions, and Noble Wimberly performing like services in the latter.

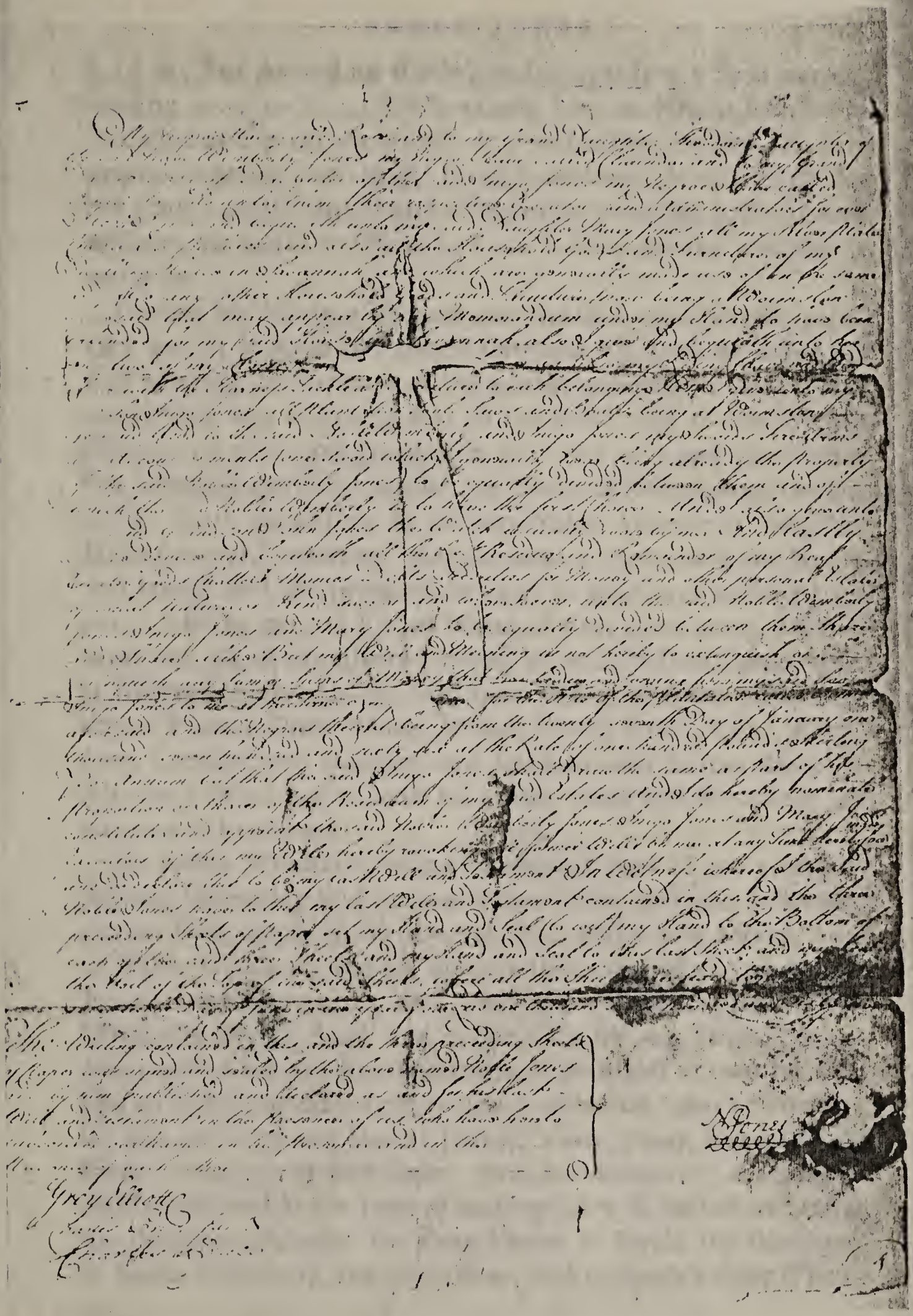
Supported in his political views by his son Inigo, revered and honored in all else than this by his son Noble Wimberly, and tenderly cared for by his daughter Mary, Noble Jones grew old gracefully and passed the three score years and ten. But by 1775 a strenuous life of forty-two years on this frontier of the British Empire was soon to exact its inevitable reward. After the hot July month he ceased to perform further judicial functions and he attended his last Council meeting on August 15. Now ill he soon took to his bed and died on November 2.[5] Governor Wright, writing to Lord Dartmouth on the third, said "Last night Mr. Jones one of the Council and Treasurer of this Province Dyed." [6] This was a grievous loss to the Royal cause in Georgia, for Governor Wright was being hard pressed to maintain the King's rule and would in the course of a few months be forced to flee the province.

Noble Jones was buried on his Wormsloe plantation, near the fort which he had constructed and defended, on a plot of ground, which presumably had already received the remains of his wife, and which would become the ancient burying ground of his descendants.[7] His remains were later removed to the Colonial Cemetery in Savannah and still later transferred to their final resting place in Bonaventure Cemetery. A great-grandson on the hundredth anniversary of Noble Jones's death laid a great stone to mark the old burial place of Wormsloe "and to save from oblivion the graves of his kindred."

Noble Jones was a man of varied interests and skills, and though he is best and almost exclusively known as a colonial statesman, he was in fact by profession before coming to Georgia a carpenter-architect and physician. Records of his building activities are frequently met with but practically none relating to his medical practice survive. In the appropriation bill for 1763 appeared these interesting items: "For Doctor Noble Jones's Account for ffrench [*sic*] Prisoners a Sum not exceeding £2 . .



First Page of Noble Jones's Will



Last Page of Noble Jones's Will

7 . . 10. For Attending the Wounded Spaniard a Sum not exceeding 7 . . 10 . . 4." [8] He taught his son Noble Wimberly medicine and as occasion made it possible they carried on their practice together until 1756.[9] But it is evident that with all of Noble Jones's public duties and obligations, political, judicial, and military, he could not have had much time for the practice of medicine.

During his lifetime he had accumulated considerable property, mostly in land and slaves. On June 17, 1767 he made his will wherein he disposed of his earthly possessions. Mary, still unmarried, was naturally first in his mind, and to her for her lifetime he gave "my plantation or Tract of Land containing five hundred Acres known by the Name of Wormslow," which at her death should go to his son Noble Wimberly "and his Heirs for ever," meaning "that the same do remain in the Name and family and the premises be kept in good and sufficient repair." Also he gave to her an island of sixty-three acres, his two town lots, all of his silverware and household furnishings both at Wormsloe and in his Savannah home, and the following slaves: Primus, Dona, Senah, Mingo, Young Grace, Luke, Kane, Jack, London, and Monday—the last four only for her lifetime. Also he wanted her to have his riding chair and the choice of any two of his horses.

To Noble Wimberly he gave a tract of land of 500 acres adjoining Wormsloe and various other tracts and the following slaves: Tom, Scipio, Peter, Ghetah, Sue, Frank, and Nancy. And to Noble Wimberly and his brother Inigo should also go Noble Jones's swords, firearms, and other accoutrements, but Noble Wimberly should have first choice. To his son Inigo, Noble Jones willed various specified tracts of land and a town lot and also all of his plantation implements, saws, and boats at Wormsloe and the following slaves: Jeffroy, Tony, Casar, Kate, Chloe, Poole, Nanny, and Old Grace. And not forgetting the grandchildren he had at the time of making his will, he left to Sarah, the daughter of Inigo, the slave Venia; to Sarah, the daughter of Noble Wimberly, the slave Rose, and to Sarah's sister Theo-

dora, the slave Clarinda; and to their brother John, 400 acres of land and other properties, including the watch "usually worn by me." [10]

A few months after Noble Jones died, British authority collapsed completely in Georgia, but this change of regime did not affect the carrying out of his will, both because of his own standing in the province though a Royalist and also because his son Noble Wimberly, one of the executors, was an outstanding Patriot. The other executor was Mary Jones, who, being a woman, was not supposed to have opinions on public questions.[11] It is not known what her private opinions were, but reason would strongly suggest that she was, like her father, a Royalist. At any rate, she inherited her portion of her father's estate as did the other legatees and in 1779 she married James Bulloch, who had been thrice married and was the father of Archibald Bulloch, a great Patriot, who died in 1777.

No record exists to indicate whether Mary after her father's death lived at Wormsloe, but as she had a home both in Savannah and at Wormsloe, it is reasonable to suppose that she must have divided her time between the two places. A notice placed in the *Georgia Gazette* for May 25, 1780 by her husband, might be interpreted to indicate either that she did or did not reside at Wormsloe. It stated that people from Skidaway Island had been in the habit of passing through Wormsloe plantation "greatly to the annoyance and incommodity of that place," and it gave warning that after three weeks no one would be allowed to pass that way. Certainly Savannah should have had no attractions for women in the latter part of 1778 and early part of 1779, for on December 29 it had fallen into the hands of the British after a brisk fight. From that time on until July 11, 1782 the British held sway in Savannah and in varying portions of Georgia, but in October 1779 there had been a fierce engagement at Savannah in which the Patriots had failed to retake the city. Sometime in 1780 James Bulloch died, and thereafter Mary must have lived mostly in Savannah.

With both the restored British government and the Patriot government passing confiscation acts against the adherents of the

other, and with the records of the Revolution in Georgia meagre and sometimes obscure, it is practically impossible to chart the course of Wormsloe through these troubled years. Certainly the Patriots did not confiscate the estate because a Royalist had owned it and devised it to his daughter, who also was probably a Royalist. Noble Wimberly Jones would have prevented that from happening. But what the Royalist government of Georgia did during the three and one-half years it lasted is not clear. Whether Noble Wimberly Jones had become so obnoxious to the British rulers of Georgia that they were willing to forget that his father had been a staunch Loyalist or whether there was merit in their hazy claim that Noble Jones had not paid a debt due "to the Publick," they advertised in the *Royal Georgia Gazette,* of September 20, 1781 that to satisfy the debt there would be offered for sale the Wormsloe plantation and two other tracts of land.[12] Ten slaves which were claimed to be his property, were also offered for sale. According to Noble Jones's will Wormsloe was at this time the property of Mary Jones Bulloch, now a widow. There is no record of the property having actually been sold, and as British rule collapsed within less than a year, it is very likely that Wormsloe never left Mary's possession, until her death in 1795, when Noble Wimberly Jones received it and now became the master of Wormsloe.

He was appointed administrator of his sister's estate, and in February 1796 he advertised that her personal effects would be sold at Wormsloe on the following March 31.[13] An inventory revealed that she had thirteen slaves, thirteen head of cattle, and a great variety of household and kitchen furniture, such as silver waiters, pepper boxes, ladles, spoons, castors, tea pots, knives and forks, warming pans, urns, looking glasses, blankets, curtains, table cloths, napkins, feather beds, couches, bureaus, mahogany tables and chairs, tea tables, chests, and so on.[14] As Noble Jones's will had stipulated Wormsloe remained in "the Name and family," but its furnishings, which had administered to his comfort in his lifetime and to that of his daughter Mary during her lifetime, were scattered as widely as the abodes of those who came to buy—and so were lost to history.

CHAPTER VIII

Noble Wimberly Jones, "Morning Star of Liberty"

HAD there been no occasion for British subjects in America to quarrel with their Mother Country, Noble Wimberly Jones would probably have been recorded in history as the outstanding physician of His Majesty's Province of Georgia in America instead of the "Morning Star of Liberty." Being a dutiful son of a physician father, who instructed him in the mysteries of medicine, he joined his father in its practice and continued with him until he married and left his Wormsloe home. Throughout a long life busied with many other interests, Noble Wimberly Jones never lost his profound love for medicine, which he continued to practice as opportunity afforded until the day of his death, and he considered medicine, not statesmanship, his profession.

On leaving Wormsloe he moved to an estate which he developed on the Little Ogeechee, called Lambeth in honor of his birthplace near London; but being much involved in the political life of the province, he also maintained a home in Savannah, the capital city. Having already two homes, when later he inherited Wormsloe it seems that he never lived there. As a young man growing up in a young colony, he naturally turned to accumulating land—the easiest road to wealth. And thus in addition to being a physician and statesman, he became a planter with many acres and slaves to work them. Among the earliest grants made to him, if not the first one, was a tract of 450 acres on the headwaters of the north branch of the Little Ogeechee River, adjoining lands of his father. He asked for it in 1751,

while the Trustees were yet ruling Georgia, and the "Board knowing him to be a discreet and deserving young Man; granted his request." [1] He also secured 500 acres on Skidaway Island, across the Narrows from Wormsloe,[2] and before he inherited Wormsloe itself at the death of his sister in 1795, he had received 500 acres adjoining Wormsloe on the Isle of Hope, which in 1800 he gave to his daughter Sarah Glen, now a widow, who had married John Glen.[3] One of the largest grants he secured was 1,800 acres fifteen miles north of Rocky Comfort Creek in St. George's Parish (later Jefferson County), to which he subsequently added more. He received this grant under the so-called family rights, stating in his petition in 1769 that he had six children and twenty-seven slaves.[4] Also in the course of time he accumulated 1,000 acres in Screven County, 1,150 acres in Bryan County, 500 acres in Liberty County, two small islands in Chatham County, and various town lots in Savannah, Thunderbolt, and Brunswick.[5]

Georgia was never to have the great confusion of overlapping land claims that characterized some of the other early American states, but in 1765 there developed a scare which for a time threatened to materialize into dispossessing a considerable number of families of their lands in and around Savannah, including among them Noble Wimberly Jones as well as his father. This was the Sir William Baker claim, which originated before Georgia had been granted to the Trustees, when the Lords Proprietors were still ruling Carolina. Noble Jones, Noble Wimberly Jones, and various others concerned, petitioned the General Assembly to use its best efforts to have the British government disallow the Baker claim. This claim seems never to have been pushed vigorously, though it was still lingering along until the Revolution put a final stop to it.[6]

Not only in medicine, political service, and planting activities, did Noble Wimberly Jones display the interests of his father, but also along other lines. Though only sixteen years old when the War of Jenkins' Ear broke out, he became a cadet in Oglethorpe's forces and played an active part in the war,[7] and while he was still a young man who had not yet reached his

majority when the General returned to England, he could claim Oglethorpe's personal friendship. Though Noble Wimberly Jones was never as much interested in military affairs as his father, he did not shirk any duty connected with the defense of this weak colony. When in 1751 the militia was reorganized as a result of the scare that the Cherokees were about to go on the warpath and Noble Jones was made captain of cavalry in the Savannah region, Noble Wimberly was made ensign in the company of foot soldiers. And six years later, when during the French and Indian War it seemed possible that the Indians might turn against the province, he was one of six appointed to supervise the construction of log forts to protect Augusta and its vicinity.[8] At the same time he with nine others was appointed superintendent of the Savannah Watch to see to it that everyone in Savannah from 16 to 60 years of age be held liable to patrol the streets of the city from dusk to dawn, to be rotated in groups of from five to ten men each.[9] Later in the war Jones did garrison duty in some of the forts.[10]

Noble Wimberly Jones did not have quite the reputation of his father as an architect-carpenter, and was, therefore, not called upon as frequently to serve in that capacity; yet in addition to being appointed to supervise the building of the log forts in the Augusta region, he was appointed one of five surveyors of the Savannah wharf to see that it was brought out of its ruinous condition and kept in repair.[11] The General Assembly house, the building which Noble Jones and others had converted into the provincial capitol out of the old filature, having fallen into a state of decay by 1768, the Assembly passed an act appropriating not over £100 to be used by Noble Wimberly Jones and two other commissioners to underpin the structure with brick and to build around the grounds a brick wall not more than eight feet high "to be topped with Mortar & Stuck with Glass." [12]

Another project with which both father and son were much concerned was the development of a road system for the province. From the days of the first settlements, rudimentary trails had been laid out—a principal early one being from Savannah to Darien—and later, laws were passed to locate certain roads;

but not until 1773 was there a general plan for the construction and maintenance of roads throughout the settled parts of the province, for the clearing and improving of rivers and other water courses, and for the construction of bridges, ferries, and causeways. For these purposes the province was divided and subdivided into divisions and districts, and commissioners were appointed for the major divisions under whom overseers should operate. Noble Wimberly was appointed one of the commissioners to run and keep in repair a road from near Savannah northwestward to the cowpens of Jonathan Bryan on the Great Ogeechee River, and also he was chosen one of another group of commissioners for the so-called Southern Division to build and keep in repair roads to the villages of High-Gate, Hamstead, Acton, Vernonburgh, and any other needed highways, as well as to improve the creeks and other waterways. Noble Jones was appointed one of the commissioners of the Eastern Division, which extended to the eastward and southward of Savannah and included Skidaway and the sea islands thereabouts. All male whites, free Negroes, and slaves between the ages of sixteen and sixty, excepting the residents of Savannah and Sunbury and further excepting all governmental officials and ministers of the Gospel, should be required to work not more than twelve days a year on the roads and streams, and as a precaution against slaves giving trouble every white person must "carry with him one good and Sufficient Gun or pair of pistols and at least nine Cartridges to fit the same or twelve loads of powder and Ball." If any slave should refuse to work he might be whipped "with a Cowskin switch or whip not exceeding twenty lashes," and any other person refusing to work was subject to a fine. The roads were to be from twenty-four to thirty-six feet in width, and for shade, trees must be left standing for ten feet on each side, unless the commissioners should think they should be cut down to dry out the swamps. Bridges should be not less than sixteen feet wide and not over eighty feet long; ferries should be used for wider water courses. As aids to travelers, mile stones should be erected, and sign posts, wherever needed.[13] The coming of the Revolution soon put a stop to this ambitious program.

Like his father, Noble Wimberly Jones was a member of the Anglican Church, and as has been noted, he was one of the commissioners appointed to divide the province into parishes and to carry out the provisions of the act establishing that church in Georgia. He was occasionally elected a vestryman and a warden.[14] And like his father he was appointed to many other commissionships and petty positions. For most of the Royal period, he was one of the justices of the peace, who held their Courts of Conscience,[15] and at least once he was given an appointment for a special session of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, to try two Spaniards charged with the murder of a man and his wife; [16] but he was not identified with the judiciary as long and as prominently as was his father.

While Georgia was under the Trustees, the people and the provincial government had been living off the bounty of the Trustees and of the British Parliament; they paid no taxes. But when Georgia became a Royal province, taxation began to creep in, though not to the same extent as in other British colonies in North America; for throughout the Royal period, Parliament made annual appropriations of about £3,100 to £4,100 for running Georgia. Out of this fund came the salaries of the governor and all other Royal officials who received pay for their services. The governor generally received annually £1,000, which he frequently complained was not enough, whereas the Councilors and members of the Commons House served without pay. But there were various charges not met by the Parliamentary appropriations, such as the salaries of the judges of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and the regular expenses of running the Commons House in such matters as firewood, candles, messengers, doorkeepers, and so on; and there were often special expenses as repairing public buildings, maintaining Tybee Lighthouse, building forts and lookouts, and hanging Negro slaves convicted of crime. To take care of these expenses, each year the Assembly passed a tax act, beginning with the first year of the Royal government in 1755. This first act, which set the style for all later acts, provided for collectors and assessors for each of the nine districts, and it made Noble Wimberly Jones

one of the three for the "Sea Islands including the Villages of Vernonburg and Acton." By this act, one shilling was levied on each Negro slave and on each one hundred acres of land, and seven shillings on every £100 at interest and £100 of merchandise of storekeepers, and seven shillings on each £100 valuation of town houses and lots.[17] Subsequent tax acts increased the rates on these items and added a few more.[18]

Unlike his father, Noble Wimberly Jones held few positions for which he was paid either out of the Parliamentary appropriations or from local revenues. But Noble Jones received nothing for his long services as a Councilor, nor did Noble Wimberly Jones receive anything for his equally long tenure as a member of the Commons House. Almost throughout the whole period of Royal control, Noble Jones served the Crown as Councilor by Royal appointment; during this same time Noble Wimberly Jones served the people by election. Of course, for most of the time, serving the Crown and serving the people amounted to much the same thing, and there was no feeling of conflict between the governor and Council on the one side and the Commons House on the other; but for the decade before the Revolution, signs of cleavage between Crown and people multiplied until by 1775 there was constant conflict, which resulted the next year in the ousting of the Crown. Father Noble and son Noble Wimberly, though on opposite sides throughout this struggle, maintained a becoming affection and respect for each other as they met on conference committees of the Upper House and the Commons House or in other contacts as members of the General Assembly, and in their private family life.

Noble Wimberly Jones had a unique record in the Commons House and it undoubtedly was not duplicated in any other British colony in North America. He was a member of this body from its first session in 1755 to its last in 1775—twenty years of service and sacrifice, for which he received no salary, and the meetings of the Assembly generally lasted from November to March, though sometimes longer, and occasionally meetings were held in the midst of the summer.[19] It can readily be imagined what happened to his medical and planting activities. His knowledge

of forms and procedures acquired over this period made his services invaluable, as he was often called upon to help compose addresses to the governor, frame laws, and act on various committees to reach agreements with the Upper House on amendments to bills and on other matters. He was first elected speaker of the Commons House in 1768 and thereafter this body insisted on his serving in that capacity, even to making a bold issue of it with Governor Wright, as will later appear.

Noble Wimberly Jones held no petty spite against George III, though he failed to join the jubilee on the Royal accession, held in Savannah in early 1761, as previously noted; for in 1763 when a prince was born, Jones informed the Upper House that the Commons House concurred with that body and the Governor in expressing "their Joy on the happy Event." [20] Neither did Jones have any ungenerous feelings toward Governor Wright, as sharp as his opposition to him was to become as the quarrel between Crown and Patriots developed. In 1762 someone scattered in Savannah some verses which Jones agreed were "scandalous and malicious Libel highly injurious to and reflecting upon his Excellency the Governors [*sic*] private Charactor [*sic*] and grosly villifying his just and Upright Administration," traducing both Houses and disturbing the peace of the province.[21]

The French and Indian War was the lever which pried open the Pandora's box out of which flew ideas and aspirations, none too sharp and clear at the time, but which would become so as the results of this war began to be felt. The British government believed that since it had saved her North American colonists from conquest by the French and Spaniards and had spent a great deal of money in doing so, those colonists should now show their gratitude by paying back part of the expenses. The Georgians had just the opposite feelings. In 1762, before the treaty of peace had been signed, the Commons House estimated that it had spent £10,000, counting personal labor and the cost of the militia, and hoped that the province might be reimbursed, at least to the extent of having a man-of-war stationed off the coast, some regular troops for the defense of the frontier, and a supply of artillery and ammunition.[22] The British government acceded

to the extent of giving the coast protection, but as for a general policy to be applied to all its North American colonies, Parliament, finding no disposition on the part of the colonies either to help pay the debt or to provide sufficient troops for their own protection, decided to raise the money by a stamp tax on public documents. This act, passed in 1765, led to a furious outburst all over America, but especially in Massachusetts and Virginia.

The first protests to Parliament came through the colonial agents. Each colony kept in London an agent, a sort of ambassador to represent the colonial government there and to protect the interests of the colony. In 1762 the General Assembly appointed William Knox, who had long been a resident of Georgia, to represent the province and at the same time it appointed a Committee of Correspondence, charged with giving him "such Orders and Instructions as they shall judge for the Service of this Province." This was a joint committee of the two houses, consisting of eleven members, and on it were both Noble Jones and Noble Wimberly Jones. Both father and son were reappointed on this committee to the end of the colonial period.[23]

The speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, acting for that body and seeking to solidify all the British North American colonies against the stamp bill, early in 1765 wrote Alexander Wylly, the Speaker of the Commons House, asking him to have Georgia's colonial agent instructed to oppose its passage. The Committee of Correspondence wrote Knox in April a rather non-committal letter in which it said that this tax was "as equal as any, that could be generally imposed on the Colonys, yet, we must own, the manner of imposing it greatly alarms us, as we know not, where the precedent may end, and however it may be with any of the Northern provinces, the Expence absolutely required for the Support of our own internal polity is rather more, than the present Inhabitants can bear, and consequently they are in no Condition to be loaded with new Burthens." [24]

As the Committee of Correspondence had not been very bellicose against the stamp bill, Knox did not think he should join in with the other colonial agents in their rather bitter objec-

tion to the bill, and the Committee writing to him in July seemed to agree with him. For they highly approved Knox's "avoiding any expressions that might tend to call in question the Authority of parliament," but they recommended that he take every opportunity to get the act repealed.[25] The Committee was soon to find out that instead of Knox trying to get the act repealed, he defended Parliament's right to tax the colonists and repelled the colonial argument that since they were not represented in that body they should not be taxed. Knox argued that they were "virtually represented," and that they should submit to the tax.[26]

When the Commons House met in the following October (1765), it called for the correspondence between Knox and the Committee and on learning of Knox's faithlessness to his office and trust, as the House considered it, on November 15 it passed a resolution instructing the Committee of Correspondence to inform Knox that the "Province hath no further Occasion for his Service." Noble Wimberly Jones was appointed to carry the message to the Upper House, a recognition which must have indicated that he had been in the forefront in having Knox dismissed.[27]

Georgia was now on the verge of her first great outburst against "British Tyranny," which would be characterized by great mobs of people who, according to James Habersham, really threatened liberty as well as life and property, the "giddy multitude," "who call, or rather miscall, themselves the Sons of Liberty."[28] But Habersham himself thought the Stamp Act was extremely unwise and that Knox had made a bad mistake in defending a law that would rob Georgia annually of five times as much gold and silver as she received each year.[29] These Liberty Boys prevented the stamps from being sold in Georgia, except a few which ship captains finally were allowed to purchase to clear Savannah of at least sixty ships that had come in and cluttered this harbor during the time when the sale of stamps had been forbidden.

Massachusetts becoming greatly excited over the passage of the Stamp Act, her House of Representatives called on all the colonies to send delegates to New York in October to petition the King and Parliament for relief. Speaker Alexander Wylly,

receiving this communication in the midst of the summer during the recess of the Commons House, sent notice to all the members to repair immediately to Savannah. Fifteen out of the twenty-five came, but Governor Wright refused officially to convene them as the Commons House, and so they could not as a body representing Georgia send delegates to the Stamp Act Congress. But these representatives let it be known that no one "on this Continent" could more sincerely concur in the purposes of the congress than they, and Wylly, speaking for them, asked that the proceedings of the congress be sent to them.[30] Though there is no list of the fifteen members who responded, it is hard to conceive of Noble Wimberly Jones not being one of them.

In the latter part of November a packet was received by the Commons House, containing the proceedings of the Stamp Act Congress and various petitions which had been sent to King and Parliament from some of the northern colonies, as well as letters from James Otis and others. The House took these petitions under advisement at various times until December 14, when it ordered Speaker Wylly to sign them for Georgia and forward them immediately to England to be presented to Parliament. Now the question was, who would present these documents. As Knox's term of office would not expire until May 1, 1766, he was still the colonial agent; but it was immediately evident that it would be futile to expect him to act in this matter. So, the Commons House asked Charles Garth, the colonial agent for South Carolina, to act.[31]

Now for the next two years there was a contest between the Commons House on the one side and Governor Wright and the Upper House on the other and incidentally between Noble Wimberly Jones and Noble Jones, over who should be the colonial agent. In carrying out the House resolution dismissing Knox, when Noble Wimberly Jones and Alexander Wylly, Commons House members of the Committee of Correspondence, applied to the Upper House members, including Noble Jones, to get their assistance in formulating the letter of dismissal, the latter members refused to act, and the Upper House instead

voted its thanks to Knox.[32] And soon after the House resolution dismissing Knox had been passed, Governor Wright suggested that Richard Cumberland would make a good colonial agent.[33] The House ignored this recommendation, and soon after sent up the name of Garth for approval. The Governor and Upper House refused to accept him, principally on the ground that Garth, by already representing South Carolina, would be a poor vehicle in making representations to Parliament in any matter of dispute between the two provinces—and all Georgians knew that the two provinces had long quarreled over various issues, and the prophets knew that there would be more. And in fact, there was at that very moment a bitter issue between the two provinces, regarding the grants South Carolina had made to her own citizens, of land south of the Altamaha River, which was now a part of Georgia.[34]

A rift had now developed between Royalists and Patriots, which might not always be apparent on the surface, but, nevertheless, it was there, widening and deepening all the time, until Georgia found herself in the midst of a revolution against British rule. Governor Wright called the General Assembly into special session in July 1766 to announce that the Stamp Act had been repealed, praising "the best of Kings" and the generosity of Parliament. The Commons House thanked the Governor and appointed Noble Wimberly Jones and five other members to join the Upper House in drawing up an address to the King "expressing the most dutiful Acknowledgements for his paternal and princely Attention in redressing the Grievances of his faithful and loyal Subjects." [35] In the address they humbly offered His Majesty their "sincere Thanks for the Repeal of the late Act of the British Parliament commonly called the American Stamp Act" and their great reverence for the "Magnanimity and Justice displayed by the British parliament on this Occasion." [36]

This display of good will toward the Governor, the King, and Parliament on the part of the Commons House, was largely a formality and extended little beneath the surface, for at this very time the quarrel was going on over the appointment of a colonial agent to succeed Knox. The Commons House thanked

Garth for the part he played in getting the Stamp Act repealed and, ignoring the Governor and Upper House, proceeded on their own authority to appoint him the colonial agent, after Noble Wimberly Jones had been instructed to consult the journal of the Upper House and secure information on how uncooperative that House had been. Governor Wright called Garth a "Mock Agent," and accused the Commons House of trying to assume sole power to appoint the colonial agent and thereby make a cypher of the Upper House. The Commons House replied in a bitter vein: "And Sorry we are that we cannot Agree with Your Excellency either in the person or Epithet of our Agent as we deem him the proper Agent of the People of this Province—having in vain requested the Councils [*sic*] Concurrence in the appointment of him by an Ordinance and with respect to his Salary being stoped [*sic*] we firmly rely upon your Excellencys [*sic*] thorough Knowledge of the force and Spirit of Laws to prevent the first being dispensed with or the Latter encroached upon, and we dare appeal to the Silent Testimony of your own Conscience as well as the observation of all unprejudiced Men, How far our Conduct 'Even in the most Critical Conjunctures have deserved Censure.[']" [37]

They appointed their committee to correspond with Garth and receive communications from him. But when they attempted to pay his salary of £100 a year, they found that the Governor and Upper House held the whip handle, for they refused to accept the bill appropriating his salary, and as Noble Jones, a member of the Council and thereby of the Upper House, and being a good King's man, was the treasurer and would refuse to honor any requisition not properly presented, the Commons House capitulated.

This surrender was made easier by someone suggesting that Benjamin Franklin might act as colonial agent for Georgia, though he was already serving in that capacity for Pennsylvania. By a unanimous concurrence the Governor, Upper House, and Commons House without any previous intimation to Franklin, appointed him in April 1768, and the Committee of Correspondence the next month notified him and gave him the task of find-

ing out why two recent acts of the General Assembly had been disallowed. Franklin continued under yearly appointments until the Revolution and during this time he became a great friend of Noble Wimberly Jones, one of the members of this Committee.[38]

Another subject in early 1768 which flared up into extreme bitterness between the Commons House and Governor Wright, related to the support of British troops in the province. The Governor claimed that the Commons House had been tardy and reluctant if not remiss, in providing support for these troops, and he wrote the authorities in London to that effect. The House, taking this as an unwarranted censure, wrote a stinging address to the Governor and received in return one even more bitter.[39]

The repeal of the Stamp Act relieved for a time the strain and stress between America and the Mother Country, but in May 1767 the fat was in the fire again when Parliament passed the Townshend Acts, which imposed an import tax on tea, glass, and a few other articles, provided methods for enforcing other laws relating to the colonies (as the Navigation Acts), and asserted the right to billet troops on any colony which became obstreperous. It was thought in England that since these taxes were external, not internal as was the stamp tax, the colonies would not object; but by this time there was developing a determination in America to reject all taxation by Parliament. Massachusetts, being the principal trading colony and most affected by these laws, took the lead in the opposition. But Georgia was not far behind, for in early 1768 the Commons House had ordered the Committee of Correspondence to instruct Franklin to protest these acts, and for this forwardness Governor Wright had on April 11 dissolved the General Assembly. Shortly thereafter, Alexander Wylly, the former speaker, received from the speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives a letter calling on Georgia to join with the other colonies in protest against these new laws. Wylly replied that the House was not then in session, but when it next met he would lay before it this proposition, and that it might be expected that the Georgia

House would so act as to "manifest their regard for constitutional liberty." [40]

Noble Wimberly Jones was playing a conspicuous part in these disputes with the Royalists in Georgia, and as a reward the Commons House, when it was called together in November 1768, unanimously elected him speaker—feeling, no doubt, that they would incur the displeasure of Wright if they should re-elect Wylly. When the Commons House waited on the Governor to present Speaker Jones, Wright "greatly Approved their Choice." [41] Then going through the old formalities, which now were coming to have special meaning, Jones requested of Wright that the Commons House might "have freedom of speech as by right and of Custom they used to have and all their just privileges and Liberties allowed them," and Wright replied "that he would Grant them every Right and Privilege they could justly Claim that was in his power to Grant." [42] But he sounded the warning that he had noticed in the *Georgia Gazette* for August 31, that former speaker Wylly had received a letter from Massachusetts, which he had said he would present to the next meeting of the House, and that the King considered it "to be of a most dangerous and Factious tendency." Wright advised the House not to receive this document, but if contrary to his expectations, they did, then "it will be my Duty to prevent any proceedings thereupon by Immediately putting an End to your Sitting." [43]

Under the eye of Speaker Jones, the House went to work and took care of what it considered to be most of its pressing business, and on December 24 it asked the Governor to adjourn the General Assembly until the following January 9, but before the business of the day was over, the House decided to take up the Townshend Tax Act. And the House resolved that an address "to our most Gracious Sovereign" be prepared imploring relief from the grievous burdens of that act, and that Noble Wimberly Jones (not the Committee of Correspondence) send it to colonial agent Benjamin Franklin to present to George III. The address was soon ready and Jones as speaker signed it. Although acknowledging "a Constitutional Subordination" to Parlia-

ment, yet Georgia asserted her "indubitable right . . . of Granting away our own property," only by her own tax measures and not those of Parliament. But "We beg leave to assure your Majesty that none of Your numerous Subjects Can or do more ardently Wish and pray for a Continuance of Your auspicious Reign, and that your latest Prosperity may happily rule over a free Gratefull and Loyal People throughout Your widely extended Empire than Your faithfull Commons of Georgia." [44]

Now that the House was embarked on this campaign of direct disregard of Governor Wright's advice given at the beginning of the session and in contempt of him, it might seem, Alexander Wylly proceeded to present to the House the letter received from Massachusetts the previous summer and also another letter more recently come from the speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia. Both letters asked Georgia to protest against the late tax act of Parliament, and the Massachusetts speaker was especially eloquent in his argument against Parliament taxing the colonies, not simply because the colonies were unrepresented in that body, but because by the very nature of the situation they could not be represented. The House resolved that it saw nothing "of a dangerous or factious Tendency" in these letters, that it agreed with the methods being used by Massachusetts and Virginia to get the tax act repealed, and that it was an "inherent Right . . . to petition the Throne for a redress of Grievances." [45]

On hearing of these transactions, Governor Wright sent a messenger to the House to request its attendance "immediately." Preceded by Speaker Jones the House marched upstairs to the Council Chamber where the Governor in a bitter speech filled with stinging blows dissolved them *sine die,* as he threatened in the beginning, instead of adjourning them until January 9 next, as they had requested. In his speech he charged them with inconsistencies and muddled thinking wherein one minute they were acknowledging that Parliament had supreme power and the next arguing that that body could not pass laws against the colonies. He ended up with as bad a prophecy as was ever made when he said "that if America could be or was to become Inde-

pendent of the Mother Country; from that Day, you might date the Foundation of your Ruin and Misery." [46]

Thus Noble Wimberly Jones in his first term as speaker of the Commons House had presided over a very short session of that body; but after elections had been held and a new Commons House was assembled in October 1769, he was unanimously elected speaker again. Governor Wright now appeared very conciliatory. After all that had happened, he was pleased to accept Jones as speaker and to stress to the Assembly that the King and Parliament had a beneficent feeling toward the colonies and would certainly redress any real grievances they had. And if there was "the least Spark of Gratitude remaining," he hoped that this fact "would rekindle that truely filial Passion, which ought to glow in the Breast of every American for the Mother Country." And now pouring further oil on the troubled waters, the Governor concluded, " 'Tis well known that the Interests of Great Britain and the Colonies are one and the same, I think I may be allowed to say inseparable, and that they must stand and fall together; great Britain can never seriously mean to oppress or distress America; and in whatever Degree she might attempt to do so she would wound herself: and so on the other Hand the greatest Care and Caution should be had in the Steps taken by the Colonies that may be injurious to great Britain it's a dangerous Attempt, and the Weapon, or means used, may prove like a two edged Sword, and probably will be found to cut both ways. It is therefore much to be wished that, instead of resentful and injurious Measures, such only were pursued as might restore that Mutual Confidence and Affection, upon which the Glory and Safety of the whole british [*sic*] Empire depend; and which let me earnestly recommend to you to adopt and cherish." [47]

Two days later Noble Wimberly Jones, followed by the members of the Commons House, again walked up the stairway to the Council Room to deliver an address to the Governor. Their attitude also was conciliatory, but not to the point of giving up any of their principles. They were glad to know that some of the taxes of which they complained would be taken off and that none would be added; but they were "deeply Con-

cerned to observe that any unconstitutional Acts should remain." They were quick to say, however, "that none but Enemies of the Mother Country have attempted to disturb the happiness of his Majestys American Subjects," and they were "bold to assert that our most gracious Sovereign has not any Subjects more gratefull, or more firmly attached to his Royal Person and Family than the Inhabitants of Georgia. Ever warmed with a becoming Zeal for the Honour of Great Britain, and the true Liberties of America, whose Interests must remain inseparable, while fixed on the sure and firm Basis of our Excellent Constitution; We are thoroughly Convinced, that the Glory of the British Empire depends on that Harmony and unanimity which we ardently Pray may ever subsist between Great Britain and her Colonies." [48]

Governor Wright was quick to note the expression "unconstitutional Acts," and in his answer to the address by the House, he said that he was "sorry to Observe some things mentioned . . . in which I entirely differ in Opinion with you, but as they are matters which do not lye with us to determine, I shall not enter into any altercation about them." [49]

The last session of the previous Assembly having been cut short by its dissolution, now this first session of the Seventh General Assembly was to make up lost time by remaining in session until the following May (October 1769 to May 1770). It is evident that there were no great commotions and disturbances with the Governor; otherwise it too would have had a short life. On the first Sunday of its existence Speaker Jones and the members of the House attended divine services, as was customary at the beginning of a session; and in late January 1770 Jones and his Commons House made a trip to the Bethesda Orphan School on the invitation of the Reverend George Whitefield, where they heard him "preach a very suitable and pious Sermon." Afterwards, they inspected the institution and "with great pleasure Observed the promising appearance of Improvement . . . and were sensibly Affected when they saw the happy success" which had attended his "indefatigable zeal for promoting the Wellfare

[*sic*] of the Province in general and the Orphan House in particular." [50] On November 5 they heard of his death the previous September 30, in faraway Newburyport, Massachusetts, and being highly conscious of his "Benevolence to mankind" and "Assiduity in preaching the Gospel . . . and being desirous to transmit to Posterity the just sense they entertain of the Virtues of the Deceased and to perpetuate the Commemoration of them," they resolved to bring his remains to the Orphan House and erect a monument to him there.[51] Unfortunately for Georgia, his remains still rest in Newburyport.

The nearest approach to an unpleasant clash with the Governor came soon after the session began, when Speaker Jones laid before the House his correspondence with Franklin, relative to getting the Townshend Tax Act repealed. In his letter to Franklin on December 24, 1768, Jones asked him to have presented to the King the address the House had formulated, and confiding in Franklin's "zeal for the Welfare and the Preservation of the rights and Liberties of America," he was sure that Franklin would join with the other colonial agents in endeavoring to get Parliament to repeal the objectionable acts. In two letters, dated April 3 and June 7, 1769, Franklin informed Jones how he had been somewhat rebuffed by Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for American Affairs, who seemed to think that colonial agents were unnecessary, as the colonial governor should be the channel through which the colonies should communicate with the Mother Country. Franklin thought that it was well that Georgia had not sent a petition to Parliament, denying that body's right to tax the colonists, for Parliament had refused to receive such petitions. But Franklin and the other colonial agents had worked privately among the members of Parliament, and he had good reason to believe that the objectionable acts would be repealed and that harmony might be restored in the Empire. That these acts would be repealed at once might be too much to expect, "considering the Pride Natural to a great Nation, the Prejudices that have so universally prevailed here with Regard to the Point of Right, and the Resentment at our disputing it."

Franklin remarked that whether Georgia should re-appoint him agent or not it would "be a very great Pleasure" to serve the province.[52]

Speaker Jones also reported to the House that he had sent the House resolution on the Townshend Tax Act both to Virginia and Massachusetts and that he had received a letter from the speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia enclosing a set of resolutions of that body opposing the acts of Parliament. All of these letters were made public in the House minutes. Governor Wright was quick to note them and to send to Speaker Jones and the House a message in which he reminded them that though the King considered the transmission of such documents through any other channels than the governor "as Irregular, and disrespectful," His Majesty had received the address; and although he might have been greatly provoked by the statement that all laws of Parliament were not binding on the colonies, he did not on this account disapprove of the address, "being firmly resolved to support the Constitution as by Law Established, and not to Countenance any Claims inconsistent with its true Principles." [53] Thus Governor Wright won his point here, for the King did not make his report back to Georgia through colonial agent Franklin but through Royal Governor James Wright. This could also be considered a slight at Jones for he had sent the address and it would be assumed that he should receive the answer. With the feeling that he had subdued the rebellious disposition of the House and restored the supremacy of the Crown in the province, Governor Wright in bringing the session to an end on May 10, 1770 thanked the General Assembly "for the great and very proper Attention you have given to the public Business during the Session." [54]

In the tax act, passed on this last day of the session, there appeared an appropriation item of not more than £150 to Noble Wimberly Jones "for the purchase of a Mace for the use of the Commons House of Assembly, and Two Gowns one for the Speaker and the other for the clerk." As Jones was the speaker the task of securing these articles was intrusted to him, and if he should be re-elected speaker when the House came into session

again, he would have the pleasure of wearing one of the gowns and using the mace. Why the Georgia House should have waited this late to adorn its chief officers is difficult to imagine unless it was to show Governor Wright and the Upper House that the Commons House was an important part of the government of the province and that it intended to have its dignity properly clothed and respected. The fact that these were exact copies of the trappings used in the House of Commons in Parliament would seem to indicate that despite Georgia's quarrel with King and Parliament, she was still proud to be a part of the British Empire and to partake of old English traditions. Noble Wimberly Jones naturally turned to his friend Franklin in London to make purchase of these articles, informing him that the mace should be "made of Silver and double gilt," to cost not more than £100 and the gowns to be "such as you think would be proper for the Speaker and Clerk of an American Assembly." By July, Franklin had secured them, boxed them, and shipped them to Georgia. In his letter to Jones, July 6, he so stated and remarked that he had assumed the Arms of Georgia to be the Great Seal and that he had had this stamped on one side of the mace. Always proud of his colonial agency for Georgia, Franklin closed with "great Esteem" for Jones and "my best Respects to the Assembly." On October 10 he sent Jones the bill. The mace cost £88, 8*s*, 1*d*, and the two gowns £19, 4*s*, 9*d*—in all £107, 12*s*, 10*d*, considerably less than the amount made available by the appropriation.[55]

In fact Noble Wimberly Jones and Benjamin Franklin were linked together in the eyes of the Royalists as enemies of King and Parliament. Each year it became increasingly difficult for the Commons House to secure the concurrence of the Upper House in the reappointment of Franklin, as the Upper House being naturally Royalist felt that it was unwise to have Franklin continue as colonial agent. On September 29, 1773 the General Assembly re-appointed him for another year, but at the same time it also appointed Grey Elliott, a member of the Council, to act as colonial agent, but only in case of the absence of Franklin, and then, only for the term of one year.[56]

Probably because of the uncertainty in the minds of the Commons House as to when and how long Governor Wright would allow the Assembly to sit, in late January 1774 it passed a bill to re-appoint Franklin for another year and sent it to the Upper House for action. The Upper House, after delaying for a few days, appointed a committee to enquire into the conduct of Franklin during the whole period of his agency for Georgia. The committee questioned several of the Committee of Correspondence and were informed that Franklin had written very few letters to them, whereby it was inferred, no doubt, that he had been writing to Noble Wimberly Jones and to certain others of the House members of the Committee. Whereupon, the Upper House refused to agree to the further service of Franklin.[57]

The Commons House, accepting the challenge, appointed a committee consisting of Noble Wimberly Jones and four others to investigate Franklin's activities. The committee reported that much correspondence had passed between Franklin and the Committee of Correspondence, that he had been active in his agency, and it resolved that the investigation by the Upper House had been "uncandid" and that it contained "unjust reflections on the publick reputation of that Gentleman." It resolved further that he had been "indefatigable in negotiating the affairs of this province" and had "faithfully executed every matter given him in charge," and that he be thanked for the execution of the important trust that had been reposed in him. The House readily agreed with these resolutions.[58]

But the Commons House did not stop here; it was in a fighting mood. It seized the offensive and now boldly declared that the power of appointing an agent to represent the province in London was a right and privilege "which is and ought to be exclusively lodged in the Representatives of the People"—that was to say, in the Commons House alone. Despite the fact that Franklin's term had yet seven months to run, it then defiantly on its own authority re-appointed him for another year, beginning on March 2, 1774. It authorized a salary of £150 and appointed a Committee of Correspondence, composed exclusively of members of the Commons House. Of course, Noble Wimberly

Jones was on this committee. On March 14 the Committee sent its first letter to Franklin, informing him that he had been reappointed colonial agent for Georgia by the Commons House alone, as the Upper House "for reasons best known to themselves" had refused to agree. The letter explained that though heretofore his commission had always been in the name of both houses, the agreement of the Upper House had never been necessary, as the Commons House, assuming that any gentleman it might nominate would receive no opposition from the Upper House, had submitted the nomination to that body only through courtesy. Now the Upper House had misconstrued this courtesy into a right to reject an agent.[59]

The battle between the two houses was on, and the Upper House would now make its answer. It declared that it considered the action of the Commons House in attempting to appoint Franklin agent without the concurrence of the Upper House to be "a flagrant attack upon & infringement" of its "clear & undoubted Rights," that the Commons House in declaring the Upper House "uncandid" was itself "illiberal" and was making "a Breach betwixt the two Houses, at a time when the exigencies of the Province require the greatest Unanimity." It resolved further that the Commons House resolutions appointing Franklin were "unconstitutional . . . and an open attack on the just Rights and Priviledges [*sic*] of this House, and the known prerogative of the Crown," and it declared that "it does not appear . . . that the said Benjamin Franklin has ever done any real Service to this Province." In an effort to destroy any practical value of Franklin's agency, the Upper House asked Governor Wright to see to it that none of the authorities of government in London should receive any colonial agent of Georgia who was not appointed "by an Act of the whole Legislative Body." The Governor promised to write a letter to Lord Hillsborough, explaining the whole situation.[60]

The Revolution was soon on, and then colonial agents were a thing of the past. Franklin left London in late March 1775 and after a placid voyage of six weeks he was back in Philadelphia. On May 6, Noble Wimberly Jones, not knowing that Franklin

had left England, wrote him a letter to London, telling him about the clash with the British at Lexington and Concord and stating that it was reported that "the Americans had the best of it but bad is the best in Wars between Fathers, Sons Brethren &c as both lose[,] let which will[,] conquer." He remarked that there was not much outward evidence in Georgia of a fight for liberty, "yet am of oppinion [*sic*] a large Majority do heartily Join in sentiment with the other Colonies perhaps 9, out of ten or more," and he observed that King George III should "consider his Subjects in America with the same affection as those nearest to him and that they naturally must be entitled to the like Rights and Priviledges [*sic*] in one part of his kingdom as in the other." [61] Jones's expression about wars between "Fathers, Sons Brethren" had a special meaning to him, with his father and his brother Inigo on one side and himself on the other.

In the turmoils in Georgia leading up to the Revolution, Franklin's salary was never paid for the latter part of his agency, no doubt because the Upper House refused to approve the item in the general tax bill, since Franklin was an appointee of the Commons House alone. After the Revolution was over and American independence had been declared and won, Franklin in 1785 sent Governor Samuel Elbert a statement of his unpaid salary. Georgia, then poor in gold and silver but rich in land and in gratitude for all who had helped her, awarded Franklin 3,000 acres of land, named a county for him, which she erected in 1785, and a few years after Franklin's death, when she began building her university in 1801, she named the first building Franklin College.[62]

Grey Elliott, who had been appointed colonial agent for one year only in 1773 to act in case Franklin was absent from London, being a Royalist, assumed that he was the Georgia agent for the following two years. He did not return to Georgia when the war broke out, but in July 1779, writing from England to the restored Royalist government in Georgia, he asked for his salary from 1773 to 1775, and in a letter a few months later he offered to serve as colonial agent again.[63] The records that have survived are silent as to what Georgia did in either matter.

CHAPTER IX

Noble Wimberly Jones and the Outbreak of the Revolution

AFTER 1770 the Royal government in Georgia weakened fast until it crumbled away in 1776, when Governor Wright fled the province. One of the principal leaders in undermining the King's authority was Noble Wimberly Jones, as has already appeared. But there was a galaxy of stars in the Patriotic firmament, some "early morning," some come-more-lately, and some which shone brightly as early in the morning as any but which faded away gradually until they disappeared. Among the last named were such as John Joachim Zubly, Alexander Wylly, and John Glen [1] (son-in-law of Noble Wimberly Jones); among the others were Archibald Bulloch, John Milledge, George Walton, Lyman Hall, John Adams Treutlen, Samuel Elbert, John and Joseph Habersham (sons of Royalist James), and John Houstoun.

From the passage of the Townshend Tax Act (or Duty Act, as it was officially called) in 1767 on down to 1774, there were no provocative acts by King and Parliament against the American colonies; and, indeed, there was some relenting—except that the British government never retreated on the dogma that Parliament had the right to pass any law it pleased relating to the colonies. The Patriots were equally insistent that Parliament had no right to tax the Colonists whether it be an internal tax like the Stamp Tax or an external one like the Townshend Duty Act, though they were less insistent on arguing the latter. In 1770 Parliament had hoped to heal the wounds when it repealed all of the Townshend duties except that on tea, and later in 1773 so manipulated the tea tax as to actually make tea

cheaper in America than in England. It was this new arrangement that led to a number of ships bringing tea to America, and one of these that put into Boston was unloaded into the sea by a mob. This act, called the "Boston Tea Party," helped the next year to bring on a series of laws called the "Intolerable Acts," most of which were directed against Massachusetts.

Georgia, far toward the southern extremity of British North America, had not been much upset by the Townshend duties, except that in late 1769 a group of Patriots met in Savannah and agreed to enter the non-importation movement started by Virginia and to promote Georgia manufacturers, but this movement soon played out. There was, however, the principle of Parliamentary supremacy for the Georgians to argue about, and there was always the great Royalist Governor James Wright to wield the cudgel for King and Parliament. And there was Noble Wimberly Jones whose successive elections to the speakership of the Commons House became a symbol of the supremacy of the Georgia people in local government, as sacred as that other principle that Parliament had no right to tax Georgians. And so for the next few years there were bitter contentions and commotions in the General Assembly, which brought the legislative power to a standstill.

The Commons House of Assembly which met on October 22, 1770 had a rough and tumble time, with much absenteeism and arresting of members therefor, until the following February 22, when it "adjourned till to Morrow morning Nine of the Clock." But their plans went awry, for that evening Governor Wright abruptly dissolved the Assembly. On that very day, Wright had called his Council together and informed them of the obstreperous course of the Commons House, how it had attempted to exercise authority that did not belong to it, and he asked the opinion of the Council as to whether he should not immediately dissolve the House. Noble Jones and four other members of the Council who were present unanimously agreed and three days later addressed the Governor with fulsome praise of his resisting the encroachments made on "the Just Prerogatives of the Crown," and at the same time showing "a Tender regard to

the Real rights, and liberties of the People." Thus did father Noble recommend proceedings against the body his son Noble Wimberly presided over and thus, also, did he support the doctrines which his son rejected.[2]

In dissolving the House the Governor probably thought thereby to get rid of his tormentors, but in the new elections he seems to have got about the same set of Patriots back again—and certainly there was no way of getting rid of Noble Wimberly Jones as long as the people had the right to elect their representatives. And the people also chose Archibald Bulloch, John Adams Treutlen, and others who were leaders of the Patriots.

When the Commons House met in the following April, on call of the Governor, its first act after the members were sworn in was unanimously to elect Noble Wimberly Jones speaker. As was the custom in organizing the House, a committee was sent to the Governor to inform him of the choice for speaker. It must not have been a surprise that Jones had been elected speaker again, but his record of Patriotic activities during the past few years, both as speaker and otherwise, was too much for Wright to continue to endure. He informed the committee that he did not approve of Jones and he asked it to inform the House that it should choose someone else. The House immediately proceeded to elect Archibald Bulloch; but its anger was aroused, and it showed its indignation at Wright by thanking Jones "for his Steady impartial and faithful Discharge of the high and important Office of Speaker of this House for Several Years Past, throughout the Course of which he distinguished himself in the most Conspicuous Manner and approved [*sic*] himself a Dutifull and loyall Subject to his Majesty and a true lover of his Country by supporting on every Occasion the Honor [*sic*] and Dignity of this House and the Rights and Privileges of the People That the sense and Approbation this House entertains of his Conduct in that Office, and Services to the Publick can never be lessened by any Slight cast on him in opposition to the unanimous Voice of the Commons House of Assembly in particular and the Province in General." [3] Furthermore, it asserted its independence of the executive authority in choosing whom it

would have for speaker by resolving "the rejection of the Speaker, elected by the unanimous Consent of the House, is a high Breach of the Privilege of the House, and tends to subvert the most valuable Rights and Liberties of the People," and that the House in order not to delay business "(already too much protracted by a hasty Dissolution of the last Assembly)" elected another speaker but it declared that this acceding to the Governor's wishes ought never to be taken as a precedent.[4]

Governor Wright, not intending for a moment to bow to such insubordination, dissolved the Assembly after it had sat for only three days—he had allowed the previous one to sit for four months before he dissolved it. He used plain language in sending home the present House. He had hoped that it "with a proper disposition" might have quickly transacted the necessary business, but he was sorry to learn "that Instead of paying any Attention to my Recommendation, a Spirit of a very different kind prevails amongst you and that you have been hardy enough not only to call in Question but absolutely to deny his Majesty's undoubted right to Approve or disapprove a Speaker. . . . I say when I see you have Committed such an Insult and Attack on his Majesty's Authority, it totally puts out of my Power to enter upon Business with you, or suffer you to sit any Longer. And however unwilling you may pretend to be, to delay the necessary Business of the Province, Yet I doubt not but all discerning and unprejudiced Men will Clearly see, that the obstruction to public Business proceeds from your Conduct, and not mine." [5]

King George III had no more loyal or forthright governor in all his American colonies than James Wright. The King and his government were conscious of that fact and made known to the Governor their high regard for his services, and they commended his Council for its loyalty in supporting the Governor's course, for he always consulted it in matters relating to his contests with the House. Noble Jones sat on this Council upstairs in the government building and gave his undivided support to Wright, while his son Noble Wimberly Jones, another combatant in this struggle of King and colony for supremacy, presided over the

House on the first floor. For some years James Wright had been wanting to go to England on a visit and in 1769 he had got permission from the British government to absent himself from Georgia, but at the time he had not taken advantage of this leave. Now, in 1771, he was longing to go, and, though against British policy, he got special permission to make the trip; in this instance, because of the stalwart course he had pursued in upholding the authority of King and Parliament in Georgia. He announced to his Council on July 2 that he was about to sail.[6]

Now for the next year and a half James Wright was to be away from the growing cares of his governorship and to enjoy the acclaim that came to him in England. While he was absent the chief executive in Georgia was James Habersham, another loyal supporter of the Crown, who bore the title "President and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Province of Georgia, Chancellor, Vice Admiral and Ordinary of the Same for the time being." And now the senior member of the Council, Noble Jones, by virtue of that position, became President of the Upper House of Assembly. The Commons House would see to it that his son Noble Wimberly Jones became its speaker, if it lay within its power.

Noble Wimberly Jones wrote Franklin in London, February 2, 1772 that the province was still being ruled without a session of the Commons House being called, adding that "what our arbitrary Rulers mean by it am at a loss to conceive unless to terrify weak people into their measures," but there was talk of a new session and "when ever it be I trust you will be requested again to stand forth in behalf of the province, unless a set of timeserving creatures should compose the Majority which God forbid." [7] It was probably with dread and forebodings that President Habersham finally mustered courage to call the Commons House into session, ten months after Governor Wright had left for England. Indeed, there was need for another meeting of the General Assembly, for no laws had been passed since May 1770, as the two sessions of the Assembly since that time had been abruptly dissolved before any legislaton had been completed.

This new Commons House, which met on April 21, 1772 was soon to show that it was as much under the control of the Patriots as any previous session, though not all of the old leaders were back. On the first day of the session the House proceeded to elect unanimously Noble Wimberly Jones as speaker just as the Upper House elected his father Noble Jones President of that body; but therein lay a greater difference than that the son was the head of one body and the father, of the other—the son was a Patriot, the father was a Royalist. When a committee of the Commons House informed President Habersham that Noble Wimberly Jones had been unanimously elected speaker of that body, he told them to return to the Upper House at five in the afternoon to receive his reply. When a committee of the Commons House returned for their answer, Habersham acquainted them that he "had it in Express Command from his Majesty" to disapprove Noble Wimberly Jones as speaker and he directed the House to elect another person. As soon as the Commons House received this reply, with abrupt haste and unparalleled contempt, it flew in the face of Habersham and elected Jones again. On being notified of this action, Habersham said that "he had no personal Objection to the Gentleman chosen," but still he must obey the "express Command from His Majesty," and he hereby directed the House to choose another person. All of this having happened on the first day, the clerk adjourned the House until the next morning at ten o'clock.[8]

On re-assembling the next morning, the House was in no more agreeable frame of mind, for its first official act was unanimously to elect Noble Wimberly Jones a third time, as it had determined to make the election of Jones the test of popular supremacy. It must have been a proud moment for Jones to have been conscious of the fact that his efforts for liberty in Georgia had reached the ear of King George III and that this monarch had personally decided that Jones must not be allowed to become speaker, and it must have been even sweeter to him to know that his associates in the fight for liberty had defied both King and Habersham and had elected him a third time. With a good sense of propriety and becoming grace Jones now

informed the House "that he had for a long time Past in former Assemblies with great inconvenience to his Private business [the practice of medicine], filled that Office, but, as it would now be so Extremely Burthensome to him, he had intended to decline Accepting it if offered again, and therefore, for reasons mentioned, with many thanks to the Gentlemen for the honour done him does decline accepting of the Chair." Thereupon the House unanimously elected a future nephew-in-law of Noble Wimberly Jones, Archibald Bulloch.[9] About the same time when Noble Wimberly Jones was making this address to the Commons House, Noble Jones was, as president of the Upper House, assuring Habersham of the support of that body and of its hope that its proceedings would be conducted with "Candour, Harmony, and Unanimity" and be of utility to "his Majestys [*sic*] Service" and the true interest of Georgia which were "Inseparable." [10]

As soon as the Commons House had elected Bulloch speaker it notified President Habersham of its choice, which he was pleased to approve. The House neglected to mention that it had elected Noble Wimberly Jones a third time and that he had declined. There was apparently no reason to mention it. As was customary the chief executive then addressed the General Assembly. In the course of his speech he alluded to letters he had received from the home government disapproving the conduct of the Commons House in its two previous sessions, and he pointedly remarked that he had been commanded by the King to reject the "Unwarrantable and unconstitutional doctrines" that the governor had no right to disapprove the choice of a speaker and to state that such doctrines were "not the Sense of the People in General, but that they have been taken up in a Moment of Inconsiderate heat, as they do not correspond with those sentiments of Loyalty and duty so repeatedly expressed by his Majesty's Faithfull Subjects in Georgia." [11]

The Commons House replied in friendly vein to President Habersham's address, and the General Assembly proceeded to the business before it. But three days later the inevitable ex-

plosion came. In looking over the journals of the Commons House, Habersham discovered that Noble Wimberly Jones had been elected a third time, and only because he had refused to serve had the House then complied with Habersham's request and elected another person. Unless the House should strike this minute from the record, he announced that he would be forced to dissolve the House; and he expected an immediate answer, for which he would remain in the Council Chamber until he got it. The House appointed a committee consisting of Jones and four other members to draw up the answer. Habersham said he would be willing to receive it at six o'clock that afternoon.[12]

The Commons House, having approved the committee's answer, repaired to the Council Chamber and informed Habersham that it was "very unhappy" to find out that he had misconstrued the minute relative to Jones's third election. It was "not in the least meant as disrespectful to his Majesty or you his Representative, nor thereby did we mean to infringe on the just Prerogative of the Crown." And as the minute was strictly parliamentary, the House still hoped that the General Assembly might proceed to business. The House thus cleverly refused, not directly but only by inference, to strike the minute.[13] Habersham now answered this report and informed the members of the Assembly that he had discovered the minute two days ago and had then told the speaker of his objection to it, in order to make it easy for the Commons House unobtrusively to remedy the matter; but now that the House had made an issue of it, there was nothing left for him to do but follow his Majesty's command and dissolve the Assembly. And he was willing to leave it "to the Judgment of all good and unprejudiced Men, whether the Inevitable bad Consequences to this Province, which I am certain will Attend the Step I must take, is the Effect of my Conduct or yours." [14]

It should be noted here that when President Habersham convened the Assembly, he was under the King's orders to disapprove the first choice of speaker the Commons House should make, irrespective of who the person might be. The move was to assert and put to the test the right of the governor to disallow

a speaker if he chose and to deny the claims of the House that it had the exclusive right to choose whomsoever it would to be speaker. And it was this tussle over that point that had as much to do with causing the House to elect Jones three times, as it was their recognition of his leadership. Although Habersham had said, in negativing the second election of Jones, that he had "no personal Objection to the Gentleman," still Habersham's regard for him was not high. He suspected that Jones "and the few Persons, . . . immediately connected with him in opposing the Public Business" were actuated by "self-interested and malevolent Motives, which they are ashamed publickly to avow," and that they had got people in the House to join them "under the specious pretence of Liberty and Privilege." Jones was all the more to be blamed for his course, and though Habersham found it painful to say a disrespectful word about anyone or to dip his "Pen in Gall," yet he could not help considering "Mr Jones's Conduct for some time past in oposing [*sic*] Public Business, as very ungratefull and unworthy of a good Man, as his Family have reaped more Advantages from Government than any I know in this Province." He had been in the pay of the Crown as a soldier and officer, and his father Noble Jones was at that time the treasurer of the province "and if I am not mistaken, reaps very considerable emoluments from it." And then Habersham cast an unworthy suspicion: "But his accounts have never been clearly stated and examined by any assembly that I know of; and such an inquiry may not be agreeable." [15] As a matter of fact the General Assembly frequently examined the accounts of the treasurer, but, of course, during the previous two years it had been in too great turmoil to do so. And it is a little surprising, too, that Habersham should make these insinuations against Noble Jones, even though they were in a private letter to Lord Hillsborough, for he was as good a King's man as was Habersham and was at this time the president of the Upper House, and, therefore, a member of the Royal Council.

Government in Georgia had now about reached a standstill. During the past two years three assemblies had met but every

one had been snarled in quarrels with the chief executive and had been dissolved without having passed a single act of legislation. The province was unable to pay its debts, as no new tax laws had been passed and the tax collectors had been remiss in their duties. Also various laws had expired, others awaited amendment, and new legislation was needed. In October 1772 President Habersham took up with his Council the serious situation, and they decided to brave the perils of another assembly, which was called to meet on December 9.[16]

The Commons House met at the set time and on the first day it elected a speaker. Habersham had, no doubt, seen to it that the few King's men should put up a candidate, and they did so in the person of Sir Patrick Houstoun, sixth baronet, who was promptly defeated by Noble Wimberly Jones, and was later to be rewarded by being appointed a member of the Royal Council. Jones knowing that his name had become a shibboleth in the Patriotic cause and knowing that his acceptance would probably disrupt the General Assembly again, took the chair and adjourned the House until the next morning, when he resigned. He observed that these repeated marks of approbation gave him "the highest pleasure, beyond what he is able to express, and it is certain far exceeds his Abilities to merit, and, if he has any claim thereto, it must proceed from his integrity of heart, and resolution to support the Liberties of his fellow Subjects." He hoped that the House would indulge him in resigning the high office of speaker, as that position would "so very much interfere with his private business," but he promised his best endeavors as a member of that body.[17]

The House now proceeded to the election of another speaker. The Royalists ran Sir Patrick again, but the Patriot William Young of Savannah beat him. Immediately after electing Young, the House chose Peter Tondee as messenger, not knowing then that the Patriots were a few years later to make good use of his tavern for some of their meetings. Feeling that there was no point to be gained by disallowing Young, Habersham was pleased to accept him, and since he had called the Assembly together "for no other purpose but to deliberate on the best

Methods of promoting the Publick Good" he hoped that it would not suffer its "Attention to be drawn off from that object." [18]

During this session of the House, which lasted with various short adjournments and one long one, until September 29, 1773, the province was got back again into a normal state of government. But in February 1773 Habersham was relieved of his onerous task of making the House perform, by the return of Governor Wright, and no doubt he was glad to relinquish the reins of government, for in January Habersham had written to a friend in London that it was impossible to do business with Noble Wimberly Jones, for he "continues the same dark and Suspicious man, and I have a right to say, I do not deserve such treatment from him." [19] Also, Habersham could not help noticing the absence of Jones at the celebration of the King's birthday, held the previous summer. At the dinner which Habersham had then given in the courthouse to which he had invited the members of the Commons House, he noted that all were there who were in town except Jones and three others.[20]

But Habersham was no doubt pleased with the fact that Noble Wimberly Jones and his extreme Patriots were not always supreme in this session of the Assembly. The issue of getting Benjamin Franklin reappointed colonial agent and the attendant issue of appointing Grey Elliott to act in the absence of Franklin, occupied much of the time of the House. Jones resisted the appointment of Elliott as being a covert attack on Franklin and unnecessary, because there was no reason to expect that Franklin would leave London—and even if Franklin should be absent, Councilman Elliott would not be a proper person to act in his place. Jones and his supporters lost by a vote of 10 to 12.

As was the custom, the House appointed a committee to examine into the accounts of the treasurer of the province, Noble Jones, and among the members appointed on this committee was Noble Wimberly Jones. Eight months later the committee's report that it found the Treasurer's accounts "Just and Regular" was further evidence of the injustice of Habersham's slur on the treasurer Noble Jones.[21]

In the contest between King's men and Patriots, the return of Governor Wright assumed prominence. On February 9, 1773 President Habersham informed the Upper House that Governor Wright had landed in Charleston on his return from England and that the Governor would go overland to Purrysburg, on the Savannah River, and thence down the river to Savannah. The Upper House appointed a committee to proceed to Purrysburg to welcome him and accompany him down the river.[22] He was now Sir James, as the British government in gratitude to him for his staunch support of the authority of the Crown in Georgia, had rewarded him with knighthood. It might be felt that some of this honor was reflected on the province of Georgia, whose governor he was, and that all differences might well be buried for the time being in celebrating the return of Sir James. But it was not so with the extreme Patriots like Noble Wimberly Jones. When a motion was introduced in the Commons House to appoint a committee to inspect the governor's mansion and do whatever was necessary to set it in good order for the reception of the Governor, Noble Wimberly Jones opposed it, and won by a vote of 12 to 9.[23]

As the Upper House had sent a committee all the way to Purrysburg to welcome Sir James, the King's men and moderates in the Commons House thought it fitting to send a committee at least to the landing place in Savannah, but rather ungraciously Noble Wimberly Jones and his extremists were determined not to give in an inch to royal trappings. But this time he was badly defeated, by a vote of 17 to 8, with such a faithful Patriot as John Adams Treutlen voting for Wright. And so a committee was appointed to welcome Sir James and to congratulate him on his safe return. On that committee were Sir Patrick Houstoun and six others, but, of course, not Noble Wimberly Jones.[24] The Upper House welcomed Sir James in an address, signed by Noble Jones and the other members of the Council, in which they expressed their *"Esteem and regard"* and their "Unfeigned Satisfaction" at "his Majesty's Royal Favour" bestowed upon him for his conduct as a "Faithfull Servant of the Crown, and a Sincere Friend to the true Interests of the People."

Sir James replied that he had always discharged his duty to the Crown and he could "with the greatest truth declare" that at the same time he meant "to promote to the utmost" of his power and ability "the true Interest of the People." Now that he was resuming the executive power in Georgia, he adjourned the General Assembly for a week.[25]

Enjoying his new honors and basking in the friendly atmosphere of both houses of the General Assembly, Sir James was very agreeable to the slightest whim of any member who did not question the King's authority. Realizing that the General Assembly had been in session, with few intermissions, since December 9, 1772 and knowing how necessary it was "for planters to see their Lands Properly planted," on March 13, 1773 he cheerfully granted their request for an adjournment, and he did adjourn them until June 8.[26]

Convening again at the appointed time, the General Assembly continued until September 29, when Governor Wright prorogued it to January 18, 1774. In the meantime it had passed various laws and had given no cause for worry to Sir James until September 10, when the Commons House received various documents from Virginia and Rhode Island relating to the suppression of counterfeiting notes throughout the British colonies, but more especially to the appointment of committees of correspondence which should communicate intelligence from one colony to another as to rumors and reports of attempts to deprive them of their "ancient Legal and constitutional Rights." The Commons House designated such a committee to consist of the speaker and any five of the old Committee of Correspondence, which had been set up to correspond with the colonial agent.[27] Undoubtedly Noble Wimberly Jones, who was on the Committee of Correspondence, became a member of this new committee. Here was an excellent opportunity for Governor Wright to raise an issue. A week later he adjourned the General Assembly for two weeks, and then on September 29 he prorogued it until the following January 18, as previously noted.

The year 1774 was decisive in the relations of the American Colonies with the Mother Country, for by June of that year

Parliament had passed the so-called "Intolerable Acts," which not only roused Massachusetts, against whom most of them were directed, but which led to like action throughout the other colonies. By these acts the Port of Boston was closed, the government of the colony reorganized, citizens of the colony charged with capital crimes made liable to be sent to England for trial, troops could be quartered in private homes, and the regions north of the Ohio River annexed to Quebec. Though none of these acts could affect Georgia directly, except perhaps the Quartering Act, yet King and Parliament had done nothing to disclaim their asserted right to legislate for the colonies in any manner they pleased. This so-called right the Patriots in Georgia intended to resist.

Governor Wright had proceeded with his General Assembly and got a few laws passed before news of these "Intolerable Acts" reached Georgia. Noble Wimberly Jones, having refused to be speaker in 1772, had made his refusal permanent, and so Sir James was to be troubled none by this Patriot in that position but he would not be relieved of Jones's opposition otherwise. For on July 14, 1774 handbills were circulated in Savannah and on the twentieth the same notice appeared in the *Georgia Gazette,* signed by Noble Wimberly Jones and three other Patriots, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, and George Walton, calling on all Georgians to assemble in Savannah on July 27, to take into consideration the recent tyrannical acts of Parliament and the critical situation that prevailed. Although the meeting, held at the Watch House, was "very respectable" it was attended mostly by people from around Savannah and to the southward and did not, therefore, represent the interior parishes. Noble Wimberly Jones's son-in-law John Glen was elected chairman. Present in addition to the signers of the call, were such early and consistent Patriots as Lyman Hall, Joseph Habersham, and Jonathan Bryan. Letters from committees of correspondence in some of the other colonies were read, and a committee of thirty-one was appointed, which apparently consisted of all the persons present, to draw up resolutions to be submitted to another meeting to be held on August 10. John Glen immediately

sent out letters calling on the people to assemble in Savannah.[28]

To Governor Wright such meetings "under pretence of consulting together for redress of public grievances" were "unconstitutional, illegal and punishable by law," and he issued his proclamation so saying and forbidding the meeting called for August 10. Nevertheless, the meeting took place, at Tondee Tavern, and passed a set of resolutions explaining the position of the Georgia Patriots. In substance they held that Georgians were not citizens second-rate to those in England; that they had a right to petition the Throne; that the "Intolerable Acts" were tyrannical and that taxation without representation was unconstitutional; that Georgia would join with the other colonies "to obtain redress of *American* grievances"; and that all people in attendance at this meeting should constitute a general committee to act and that any eleven or more should have authority to correspond with the other colonies. As conditions in Boston were much on the minds of the Georgia Patriots, this meeting appointed a committee of nine, one of whom was Noble Wimberly Jones, to receive subscriptions for the suffering poor of that city.[29]

Noble Wimberly Jones was a ringleader in these Patriotic meetings, while his father Noble Jones joined in the movement to suppress them. Soon after this Tondee Tavern meeting, Noble Jones attended a meeting in Savannah, called by Governor Wright, and he signed with a great many others a document proclaiming the deceptions of the Tondee Tavern meeting: how it was held at a place different from the one expected in order to prevent any but hand-picked delegates from attending; how the people in the interior parishes were misinformed on the purpose of the meeting; how St. Pauls, one of the most populous parishes, sent no delegates; and how Peter Tondee had stood at the door of his tavern with a list of names in hand and refused to let in anyone whose name was not on the list. The world would judge whether a meeting "held by a few persons in a tavern, with doors shut, can, with any appearance of truth or decency, be called a general meeting of the inhabitants of Georgia." Governor Wright also sent runners to the various

parts of the province to induce the inhabitants to sign resolutions condemning the Tondee Tavern meeting, and they returned with resolutions signed by an impressive list of names, wondering what business it was of Georgia's if Great Britain wanted to punish a mob in Boston for destroying some tea, and stating how foolish it was for Georgia to be condemning the Mother Country when at the very moment there was great danger of an Indian war and at the very time when the province was begging her for protection.[30]

Governor Wright had set out to prove that the Tondee Tavern meeting was not representative of Georgia either in attendance or sentiments, and despite the questionable methods he used in securing names to petitions, he was stating the truth. That meeting itself was painfully aware of the fact, for it dared not elect delegates to a continental congress which Massachusetts had suggested early in the summer should meet in September at Philadelphia, though the delegates from St. Johns Parish advocated such election. Wright had won; the Sons of Liberty had not yet sufficiently consolidated their position throughout the province to support their claim that they represented the sentiment of the Georgia people.

The First Continental Congress met on September 5, 1774 and adjourned on October 26, following. Attended by all of the British North American colonies except Georgia, the Floridas, and Nova Scotia, it passed a declaration and set of resolutions reaffirming the position the colonies had already taken on their rights and condemning the tyrannical acts of Parliament and King, but more importantly setting up an association among themselves pledged to cut off all trade with the British Empire, and specifically with any North American colony not acceding to this association. This placed Georgia in an uncomfortable position in relation to her sister colonies to the northward and especially in her dealings with South Carolina, which now began to put all possible pressure on Georgia to force her to act.

Resisting all arguments and threats of force by Governor Wright, the Patriots decided that the time had come to assume the right to direct the destinies of Georgia. Fearing that they

could not secure sufficient control through the regularly constituted Commons House, and, besides, not knowing when if ever again Governor Wright would call another session or, if he did, how long he would suffer it to continue deliberations, they called for the election of delegates to a provincial congress to meet in Savannah on January 18, 1775, a body revolutionary in its very nature. Under the direction of the Savannah junto, which headed the Patriotic movement in the province, a committee headed by John Glen held elections for Christ Church Parish on December 8 and announced the choice of Noble Wimberly Jones and fourteen others, including Joseph Habersham, John Houstoun, Peter Tondee, and Archibald Bulloch. In other parishes elections were held, and at the appointed time the congress, consisting of forty-five delegates, came together; but this meeting was not representative of Georgia, for only five of the twelve parishes had acted.

Nevertheless, this, the First Provincial Congress, proceeded to business by electing John Glen to be speaker. It then proceeded to adopt the Continental Association in substantially the same language and intent as of the First Continental Congress except for extending the time when importation and exportation from and to the rest of the British Empire should cease. But this change was too much for the rampaging Patriots from St. Johns Parish, who in a spirit of high dudgeon withdrew from an already impotent body and led this First Provincial Congress to terminate its existence on January 25, but not before engaging in the futile gesture of electing to the Second Continental Congress, called to meet May 10, in Philadelphia, Noble Wimberly Jones, Archibald Bulloch, and John Houstoun.

In this struggle for the control of Georgia, the Patriots had an outstandingly able and resourceful antagonist in Governor Wright. His first move was to call the General Assembly to meet on the same day set by the Provincial Congress for its meeting —January 18. Although the Commons House was constituted to a considerable extent of the same men who made up the Provincial Congress and, were, therefore, revolutionists, he was willing to risk their meeting as a Commons House. Thereby, he

might be able to break up their revolutionary Provincial Congress; but he also ran the risk of these revolutionists using a constitutional Commons House to accomplish what they could not do through their weak congress.

Using his great skill in logic and language, Wright told the Assembly that he also was an advocate of liberty "but in a constitutional and legal way," and warned them not "to trample upon law and government" and to remember that "where there *is no law there can be no liberty.*" Of course, they knew that as governor, it was his duty to uphold his authority; but they should also know that he was "actuated by further motives than those only of discharging my duty as the King's Governor." He had been their governor for fourteen years and he had "a real and affectionate regard for the People." It grieved him to think that a province which had under the nurturing care of the Mother Country grown from infancy to a considerable degree of maturity and opulence, should now "by the imprudence and rashness of some inconsiderate People be plunged into a state of distress and ruin." [31]

But the Patriots also were clever and were revolutionists besides. Having abandoned their Provincial Congress as an impotent vehicle for expressing either the official or revolutionary will of Georgia, they proceeded to use the Commons House, by introducing therein a long set of resolutions, practically the same in text and intent as were adopted by the First Continental Congress, and adding thereto a resolution appointing members to the Second Continental Congress. If they should succeed in pushing this program through the House, they felt that they would accomplish their purpose in announcing to the world Georgia's adherence to the liberty-loving colonies of America. Governor Wright, discovering what was about to happen, immediately adjourned the General Assembly to the following May, and then unable to secure a quorum he prorogued it again, to November. Again unable to make a quorum the Commons House finally faded out with Wright's fleeing the province in 1776.[32]

Governor Wright was victorious for the time being. The radi-

cal Patriots of St. Johns Parish were so disgusted that they disowned the province and tried to secede from it; South Carolina declared that she held Georgians "unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country"; [33] and Noble Wimberly Jones and his two associates, Archibald Bulloch and John Houstoun, who had been designated to go to the Second Continental Congress, were so discouraged that on April 6 they wrote the president of that body that they would not attend, for "with what face could we have appeared for a Province whose inhabitants had refused to sacrifice the most trifling advantages to the public cause, and in whose behalf we did not think we could safely pledge ourselves for the execution of any one measure whatsoever." "The unworthy part" which Georgia had played "in the great and general contest" left "room to expect little less than the censure, or even indignation, of every virtuous man in America." They had to admit that the abortive Provincial Congress could not be considered the voice of Georgia, and its adoption of the Association program of stopping trade with the British Empire meant nothing, for the "importers were mostly against any interruption, and the consumers very much divided." Therefore, it was either "commencing a civil war among ourselves" or waiting for advice from the next Continental Congress. But Jones and his associates had not given up hope, for they believed there were "still men in Georgia who, when an occasion shall require, will be ready to evince a steady, religious and manly attachment to the liberties of America." [34]

The reverberations of the "shot heard round the world," which was fired at Lexington on April 19, reached Savannah on May 10 and upset the balance between King's men and Patriots—that uneasy truce which had prevailed since the adjournment of the General Assembly in February. By coincidence Governor Wright was at this very time unsuccessfully trying to get a quorum of the Commons House; on the same day the Continental Congress was meeting again in Philadelphia; and on the night of the eleventh another meeting of quite a different kind took place at the home of Noble Wimberly Jones, where it was decided to seize the provincial powder magazine and make off with this

most sought-after munition of war, stored there. Jones, Joseph Habersham, Edward Telfair, John Milledge, and others secretly and successfully carried out the raid and removed about 600 pounds. Governor Wright's offer of £150 reward failed to produce the actors in this drama.[35]

From this time on until British authority in Georgia was completely smashed, the Patriots traveled fast the road to their supremacy. And Noble Wimberly Jones was to be at the head of the column, while his father Noble, ailing and approaching the end of a long life, was by example when not by word, seeking to restrain this impetuous son. It had long been a custom to celebrate the King's birthday, which was June 4, and this year as usual Governor Wright made preparations for the event by assembling cannon on the river bluff for the salute on the fifth, as the fourth was Sunday; but before the day arrived for the celebration some Patriots spiked the cannon and rolled them down the bluff. And on the fifth while the Royalists were honoring their King, the Patriots erected a liberty pole and then dined at Tondee Tavern, concluding "the evening with great decorum," drinking many toasts to American Liberty, to the Continental Congress, to "no taxation without representation," and to the various friends of the American Colonies.[36]

As the legislative power of Georgia had come to a standstill, the Patriots now proceeded to grasp it. At a meeting presided over by Noble Wimberly Jones at Tondee Tavern on June 13, where they set up a liberty pole and put a flag on it, they issued a call for another provincial congress to meet on July 4, and at the same time they recommended that all Georgians join in obeying the Association against trading with the British Empire, thereby admitting that its adoption by the First Provincial Congress was of no avail.

A less radical group of Patriots met the same day at Mrs. Cuyler's, strangely enough among whom was Noble Wimberly Jones, and resolved against those acts of violence that were becoming too common, whereby individuals and small mobs by the application of tar and feathers sought to enforce their ideas of liberty against those who as the constituted authorities were

only doing their duty. It wanted the contemplated provincial congress to send up an "humble, dutiful, and decent petition" to His Majesty. It felt that the Patriotic movement should be carried on in a lawful and dignified manner and that no one should be molested while he behaved "himself peaceably and inoffensively" and while he expressed his private sentiments "with decency and without any illiberal reflections upon others." It still believed that Georgia's interests were "inseparable from the mother country" as well as from her sister colonies, and that she should "forthwith join the other provinces in every just and legal measure to secure and restore the liberties of all America, and for healing the unhappy divisions now subsisting between Great Britain and her Colonies." [37]

Noble Wimberly Jones seemed entirely out of place in this group, for they were composed not only of mild Patriots but in fact of out-and-out King's men, some of whom were never to deviate from support of the Crown, such as John Joachim Zubly, Josiah Tattnall, and Lewis Johnston. Some of them were members of the Royal Council, and even Noble Jones would not have felt out of place in this gathering. It may have been on his advice that his son attended; but it also should be remembered that Noble Wimberly Jones, even though a radical in Patriotic thought, was not the kind of person to be a party to senseless mobs, delighting to use tar and feathers on those with whom they did not agree. And as he said, he was "convinced of the necessity of preventing the anarchy and confusion which attend the dissolution of the powers of government." [38] John Glen was there probably because of the influence of his Jones family connections, but one looked in vain over the gathering for such others of the Patriots as Joseph Habersham, Archibald Bulloch, George Walton, John Milledge, and Jonathan Bryan.

If in the eyes of some, Noble Wimberly Jones had strayed when he attended the meeting at Mrs. Cuyler's, he was back in the fold a week later, when on June 21 he and three others sent out a hurried call for a meeting the next day at the Liberty Pole for the purpose of devising means to place Georgia in closer association with the other colonies, which were at this time in

session in their Continental Congress in Philadelphia. The result of the meeting was the appointment of a Council of Safety, which did not, however, include Jones but did have as a member his son-in-law John Glen.[39]

All of these happenings were very discouraging to loyal Sir James Wright, who had long been begging the British government for a few troops with which he promised to easily suppress the revolutionary movement in his province; but little help came. On June 9 he had asked the Earl of Dartmouth to allow him to return home, for though the King had "not a servant better disposed to serve his honor and just rights," and though Sir James had done everything possible to uphold the King, yet he could not "continue in this very uncomfortable situation without the means of protection and support."[40] In less than a year he would be gone without the King's permission.

The Second Provincial Congress, which had been called by the Patriots in June, met on July 4, in Tondee Tavern, one year before the signing of the world-famous Declaration of Independence. During this year not only Georgia but also the other twelve revolutionary colonies were to progress from a demand of equality in the Empire to independence from it. Now for the first time the Liberty Men had a body representative of the whole province, for every parish sent representatives, a list of whom embraced the long-time Patriots, more recent converts, and some who were to fall by the wayside. Noble Wimberly Jones and his son-in-law John Glen and twenty-three others came from the Town and District of Savannah, and his prospective brother-in-law James Bulloch was one of the Sea Island District representatives. His brother Inigo was playing no part in politics.[41]

After listening to a sermon by John Joachim Zubly [42] this body immediately did what it considered to be its most important function: It adopted the Association against trading with the British Empire, the acceptance of which had been gone through with so often already but by bodies that could not claim the authority of this Provincial Congress. It also agreed to accept and carry into execution all measures and recommendations of the Continental Congress. And as further participation in the

program of the Continental Congress, it did what Governor Wright had prevented it from doing in the early part of the year: It elected delegates to this body. Noble Wimberly Jones, Bulloch, and John Houstoun, whom the First Provincial Congress had elected, were now re-elected and Zubly and Lyman Hall were added. Zubly, taken by surprise, declared that he could not go unless his congregation gave him permission. Jones and John Houstoun were appointed to beg of the congregation that it let its parson be a delegate; it agreed. But when the time came to set out for Philadelphia, at the end of July, Noble Wimberly Jones himself did not go because of his father; and no one was appointed to plead with his father, for Noble Jones, old, ailing, and loyal to the last, was fast approaching his end. No one could blame Noble Wimberly who by not going respected the wishes of his father, whom he would never have seen again had he set out on July 31, when Houstoun, Bulloch, and Zubly boarded the *Georgia Packet* for Philadelphia.[43]

The first session of this Second Provincial Congress lasted only two weeks, beginning on July 4 and ending on the seventeenth; but it had succeeded in seizing the legislative power from Governor Wright's Commons House of Assembly and adding Georgia to the twelve revolutionary colonies then functioning as a Continental Congress. On the tenth, in language of great bitterness, it passed a set of resolutions setting forth colonial rights and grievances, in which it put more blame on Parliament than on the King and insisted that Georgia should consider her "safety and happiness" depended on "a constitutional connection with Great Britain, and that nothing but the being deprived of the priveleges and natural rights of Britons could ever make the thought of a separation otherwise than intolerable." But by "the unrelenting fury of a despotic Ministry, and with a view to enforce the most oppressive acts of a venal and corrupted Parliament, an army of mercenaries, under an unfeeling Commander" had "actually begun civil war in America." Georgians had been "born free," had "all the feelings of men," and were "entitled to all the natural rights of mankind." [44]

The thoughts of separation from the British Empire were not

new in Georgia. Six years before, a cryptic "T. F." had in language passionate and prophetic written: "How long designing men may be able to impose, or how long the remonstrances of the Americans may go unconsidered, it is impossible to determine—*Tho' every year a new act should be made or repealed, matters can never continue easy while the claim is kept up to tax the Americans where they are not and cannot be represented;* but, if providence does not deny them the blessing of increasing and multiplying as much as they have done, our children may see the greatest part of the British nation settled in America, and, if they are but virtuous, all the powers of oppression on earth joined together cannot hinder them from being free." [45]

The Provincial Congress appointed Noble Wimberly Jones, Zubly, and Walton as a sort of propaganda committee to see that the people were properly informed on the facts of the dispute between the colonies and Great Britain and also on what this Provincial Congress had done. On July 25 they issued their address to the people. In "great sorrow" they had now to say that what they had previously considered impossible was "actually come to pass. A civil war in America is begun." Wicked fighting had taken place around Boston and wretchedness prevailed, but the despised American militia had given a good account of themselves. The Provincial Congress as well as the Continental Congress was seeking a reconciliation, but Jones and his associates earnestly recommended to the people of Georgia "a steady perseverance in the cause of Liberty, and that you will use all possible caution not to say or do anything unworthy of so glorious a cause; to promote frugality, peace and good order, and in the practice of every social and religious duty, patiently to wait the return of that happy day, when we may quietly sit under our vine and fig-tree, and no man make us afraid." [46]

Later sessions of the Provincial Congress and of the Council of Safety, which held power when the Congress was not in session, wrested complete control of all branches of the government. First, they in effect disestablished the Anglican Church when the Reverend Haddon Smith was locked out of his church in

Savannah because he refused to preach and observe the day of humiliation and prayer which the Continental Congress and the Provincial Congress had set apart. The next month he sailed for Liverpool.[47] Then they secured control of the militia, by forcing out all Royalist officers, and soon they seized the courts. The last to go were Governor Wright and his Council.

During this period of revolutionary change, Wright had been playing heroically a most difficult part in support of his King and the Empire. For a longer time than in any other of the thirteen colonies which revolted he had succeeded in heading off the Liberty party and in maintaining the Royal power. He had the natural advantage incident to Georgia's being the youngest of the Thirteen, for there had not yet developed in the province a generation of old men born there who knew not personally and sentimentally the Mother Country. The older generation in Georgia remembered their residence in England and found it more difficult to forget the Mother Country; the young men were the ones who pushed the fight against the Mother Country—so eloquently shown in Noble Jones, for the King; Noble Wimberly Jones, his son, for the Liberty party—James Habersham, for the King; his sons Joseph and John and James, too, for the Liberty party. And to Wright's great loss, both father Jones and father Habersham died in 1775 when they were most needed. But Governor Wright was himself a great logician and propagandist. He could and did recall with telling effect the fact that England had nursed Georgia into strength by the expenditures of a great deal more money than she had lavished on any other of her North American colonies—and the sense of gratitude was not entirely lost to the Georgia people. He truthfully emphasized the exposed position of Georgia to Indian dangers of which for the past few years the Georgians had been well aware and against which they had been begging aid. And then, too, Governor Wright did not fail to call in a force, which was yet weak and hardly recognized, but which later would grow strong and wreck for a time the new nation which he was trying to prevent—the force of sectionalism. What concern should Georgia have for the northern colonies? Why be led

around by them and help them get out of the mess they had got themselves into? Was Georgia not different from them with a different life and different problems? And lastly, whether Wright should call attention to it or not, the wise Liberty men must have seen that the absence of a Patriotic movement in the British colonies of East Florida and West Florida, would place on Georgia's flanks bastions of enemy strength if war developed with Great Britain—and again, as usual, St. Augustine would be an enemy stronghold to be taken—something which the Georgians had never yet been able to do.

Thus there were good reasons why Noble Wimberly and his Patriotic associates were late in adding Georgia to the revolting Twelve. But the precarious tenure of Governor Wright and his Council was fast coming to an end, for denied to him were all of his pleas for just a small force of troops with which he promised to put down the Liberty men. On July 10, 1775 he wrote the Earl of Dartmouth, "It being Impossible My Lord for me to submit to these daily Insults, I must again request His Majesty will be Graciously Pleased to Give me Leave to return to England." [48] As the Royal government in Georgia was going from bad to worse during the last half of 1775, Governor Wright wrote Dartmouth on January 3, 1776 that he thought there was still a chance to save Georgia, "but no Troops, No Money, no Orders, or Instructions and a Wild Multitude gathering fast, what can any Man do in such a Situation?" [49]

It had been this situation that made it much easier for the Liberty men to take over the rule of Georgia up to this point, and when on January 9 news was received that four British ships of war were on their way to the coast of Georgia to get food and probably to overawe the friends of liberty and when four days later it was known that they had arrived, the Council of Safety became greatly disturbed. On January 18, it ordered the arrest of Governor Wright, his Council, and other important King's men. Joseph Habersham with a small force went to the Governor's mansion and arrested him and the Council and at a meeting that night at eleven o'clock the Council of Safety ordered Habersham accompanied by Noble Wimberly Jones and an-

other to inform Governor Wright that the Council might go home for the night if the Governor gave assurances that they would appear the next morning and consider themselves under arrest, and also, to get the promise of the Governor that no persons from the ships of war would disturb the peace of the town. The next day the Council of Safety allowed Governor Wright, the Council, "and the Crown Officers in general," the freedom of the town on their parole of honor not to leave or to hold communication with the ships of war. And so, ended all but the mere shadow of the King's government in Georgia, and the shadow faded out on February 12, when Governor Wright in the darkness of night fled to the King's ship of war *Scarborough* at Tybee.[50]

Noble Wimberly Jones had played an important part in the suppression of the Royal government but not the commanding part in the final hours. He had been a member of the Council of Safety from December 16, 1775 until January 19, 1776 at least. After that time his name did not appear in the minutes. As the records of the various sittings of the Provincial Congress for the period following its session of July 1775 are not known to be extant, it can only be assumed that he was a member, but logic would strongly suggest that he was.

CHAPTER X

Noble Wimberly Jones in the Revolution and After

THE mills of the gods grind slowly but exceedingly fine and unrelentingly. Such a thought might well have entered the mind of Sir James Wright and given him some consolation as he wondered whether there was any justice in this world; also it might have disturbed the tranquillity of Noble Wimberly Jones when he contemplated the possibility that though there was victory today there might be defeat tomorrow. And as Sir James had fled before the onslaught of Jones and his rebels in 1776, so it was to be that the tables would be turned in 1778, and Jones would flee from the King's men as they came back to recover their lost province.

In this short span Georgia set herself up as an independent state and joined her sisters in rebellion to form the Confederation. In this work Noble Wimberly Jones continued to play a conspicuous part, not as a soldier but as a statesman. There was much need for both, and though Jones in colonial times had fought on the field of battle for his King, he was now to fight for Liberty in the halls of statecraft, where his efforts would be much more availing. Though Noble Wimberly Jones forewent the life of a soldier, two of his sons fought in the war for independence. One was killed; the other was captured and thrown into a prison ship.[1]

With the departure of Sir James Wright in early 1776, every vestige of British authority disappeared from Georgia; but this did not indicate that a revolution was being carried out in which old forms and customs were being violently uprooted and new

ways of life and government brought in. It meant merely that the power to rule Georgia should henceforth lie in Georgia or with whom she should share it, rather than in England. To take the place of a charter or royal instructions on which the government of Georgia had heretofore rested, the Provincial Congress on April 15, 1776 promulgated a set of eight "Resolutions," which in effect continued the old forms of government. The Congress confirmed in itself the supreme power which it had seized from King and Parliament. The only office or division of government not at that time in existence was the governorship, and to fill this void, the Resolutions set up a "President and Commander-in-Chief," who should be appointed by the Congress and hold office for only six months. As this government was to be a "temporary expedient," the Congress made no provision for its own election, having in mind that a "general system of government" would be soon provided for in a formal constitution.[2]

The Declaration of Independence, signed by the Georgia delegates to the Continental Congress, Button Gwinnett, George Walton, and Lyman Hall, on July 4, 1776, made Georgia an independent state and rendered out of date her government of temporary expediency, under which she had been living for less than three months. So it was then that in early September following, elections were held for delegates to a constitutional convention, which met the next month in Savannah, and in sessions, off and on, during the subsequent four months, made the state's first formal constitution. The convention ended its sessions on February 5, 1777, and declared the constitution to be the supreme law of the land. Except for a legislature of only one house and an executive council, this document provided a form of government which became the standard for American states. Noble Wimberly Jones was a member of this convention and was its speaker for at least part of the time, but as the records of this body, except for a fragment, are not known to be extant, the details of its deliberations are lost to history. There is evidence that Button Gwinnett was speaker in early sessions, but there is also evidence that Jones was speaker later on. It is not

difficult to resolve this discrepancy when it is recalled that the fragment of the minutes extant shows that on January 24, 1777 Gwinnett was elected by the convention to be chairman of a committee "to reconsider and revise" the constitution. As it would not be parliamentary or practical for him to serve in both positions, it is easily inferred that Jones replaced him as speaker.[3]

While Georgia was thus making herself into a permanent state, her neighbor across the Savannah River became much excited in the belief and hopes that she could induce Georgia to abandon statehood and return to the fold of South Carolina, out of which she had formally been carved as a colony. This rib-gone-astray should now marry herself to South Carolina and enjoy all the renown and prosperity which the Palmetto State could give her. But South Carolina was pursuing a forlorn hope, for soon after Georgia's establishment as a colony she had found her neighbor resentful of her presence and hostile to her growth, and this feeling had continued on down to the outbreak of the Revolution. Noble Wimberly Jones and the other principal Georgia leaders opposed with vigor this ungenerous attempt of South Carolina to swallow her up and soon led it to its end, but not to the end of a certain bitterness and feeling of rivalry which the Carolinians were to harbor for a long time. South Carolina commissioners had appeared in Savannah and had received from Speaker Jones permission to address the convention but when William H. Drayton, the head of the commissioners, asked Jones to allow him to hear the deliberations of the convention on the subject, Jones informed him that the convention was not willing.[4]

Now that the Provincial Congress had been legalized, its name was changed to the House of Assembly, omitting the Commons, which had characterized it in colonial times and had suggested the British Parliament. Elections were soon held and as had come to be the custom for many years past, Noble Wimberly Jones was returned to that body, and what was almost as fixed a custom, he was elected speaker. Another House would be elected the following December (for the House was chosen annually in that month) and it would meet in January 1778 (and *deo volente*

every year thereafter in the same month) and again it would elect Noble Wimberly Jones speaker. But those elected in December 1778 would find it impossible to make a House, for the British returned that month and scattered the elected representatives to the foreparts of the earth like chaff before the wind. And Noble Wimberly Jones would be among those fleeing.[5]

But in the meantime, much had been happening in Georgia: being exposed on the southern flanks of America, she was fighting for her existence, without much aid from anyone. Remembering that God helps those who help themselves she appointed Peter De La Plaigne, a captain in the Georgia First Continental Battalion, to go as the state's agent to France to secure munitions of war. On May 26, 1777 Speaker Jones wrote Benjamin Franklin, his old friend of colonial days, then in France, to do whatever he could to speed his mission.[6]

Added to the inherent dangers and weaknesses of Georgia's position in the war were internal dissensions. It was bad enough that more than half of the people were either hostile or lukewarm to the Patriotic government, but much worse that among the Patriots themselves there was bitter factionalism. These factions were based on both personal animosities and differences springing out of radical and conservative feelings. Out of these animosities and rivalries arose a situation which on May 16, 1777 resulted in a duel between Button Gwinnett and Lachlan McIntosh, in which the former was killed. As Gwinnett had been a leader of the radical country party, which controlled the government at this time, his death led to the ultimate banishment of McIntosh from the state. Noble Wimberly Jones, as speaker of the House of Assembly, seems not to have been actively mixed up in these quarrels; but as the presiding officer it was his duty to inform Samuel Elbert, second in command of the Continental troops in Georgia, that the House wanted him to supplant McIntosh, who was the commander. Elbert refused the offer on the ground that military usage demanded that he take orders only from his superior officer, in this case McIntosh.[7] McIntosh soon left for service in Pennsylvania. Some years later, in 1782, when Noble Wimberly Jones was one of the delegates

to the Continental Congress, he supported a motion to advance McIntosh to a major-generalship, which was, however, lost.[8] So, in this fact is additional evidence that Jones had probably not been a supporter of the radical Gwinnett faction, though, of course, the evidence is not conclusive, as five years could easily work a change in one's opinions.

The war which Georgia hesitated to enter until all of the other rebelling colonies had plunged into it—that war failed to involve Georgia for almost three years after it began. But in the late fall of 1778 the British decided to direct their special attention to the Southern colonies and to begin with Georgia. An expedition of regulars set out from New York and a force from Florida started northward to seize the coastal regions and converge with the regulars on Savannah. Savannah fell on December 29 and the House of Assembly, which was due to convene in that city within a few days to elect a new governor, was unable to meet. Rather than flee to the frontiers to organize resistance, as many of the other Georgia leaders did, Noble Wimberly Jones gathered up his family and moved away to Charleston. He was probably tired of politics and public service, and now he saw an opportunity to return to his first love, medicine. For the next year and a half he lived in Charleston, but his arrival and residence there seem not to have attracted the slightest public attention, at least not enough to be mentioned in any of the Charleston newspapers, the *Gazette of the State of South-Carolina,* the *Charleston Gazette,* or the *South-Carolina and American Gazette.*[9] It seems strange that one of the principal Georgia Patriots should thus have been ignored. Could it be that the South Carolinians were still smarting over Georgia's rejection the year before of their offer to swallow up that state, in which Jones had played an important part?

But the war was soon to catch up with Noble Wimberly Jones again, for in July 1780 the British captured Charleston and placed on parole the principal leaders of South Carolina, who had either chosen to remain in the city or were unable to make their escape. Jones decided to accept a British parole rather than attempt to flee.

The capture of Charleston did not end South Carolina's resistance, but rather intensified it. Lord Cornwallis, feeling that the paroled Patriots in Charleston were inciting the renewed activity of the rebels, decided in August 1780 to remove them to some point beyond the state. Whether they had violated their paroles or not (and they argued heatedly that they had not), Cornwallis apparently had the right to act as he did, for there was nothing in their paroles which required that they be left in Charleston. What seemed to rankle longest and deepest was the unceremonious manner in which they were arrested. The first group of thirty or more were seized on July 27, and three days later ten more were taken. Shortly thereafter they were placed aboard a ship and transported to St. Augustine. In the following November twenty-five additional paroled Patriots were seized and conveyed to St. Augustine. Noble Wimberly Jones was among this group. A soldier arrested Jones in his home, and without giving him a chance to bid adieu to his family, hustled him off to a ship waiting in the harbor. The confinement of the prisoners in St. Augustine was accompanied by no harshness or cruelties; in fact, in some respects it partook of a vacation. They were prisoners only in the sense that they were limited to a certain part of the town. They lived in groups or messes in houses which they rented. They brought their slave servants with them, and they were allowed to receive money and additional provisions from their relatives. A kind gentleman who had a citrus grove supplied them as gifts thousands of oranges in season. The British authorities gave them a hogshead of West Indian rum.[10]

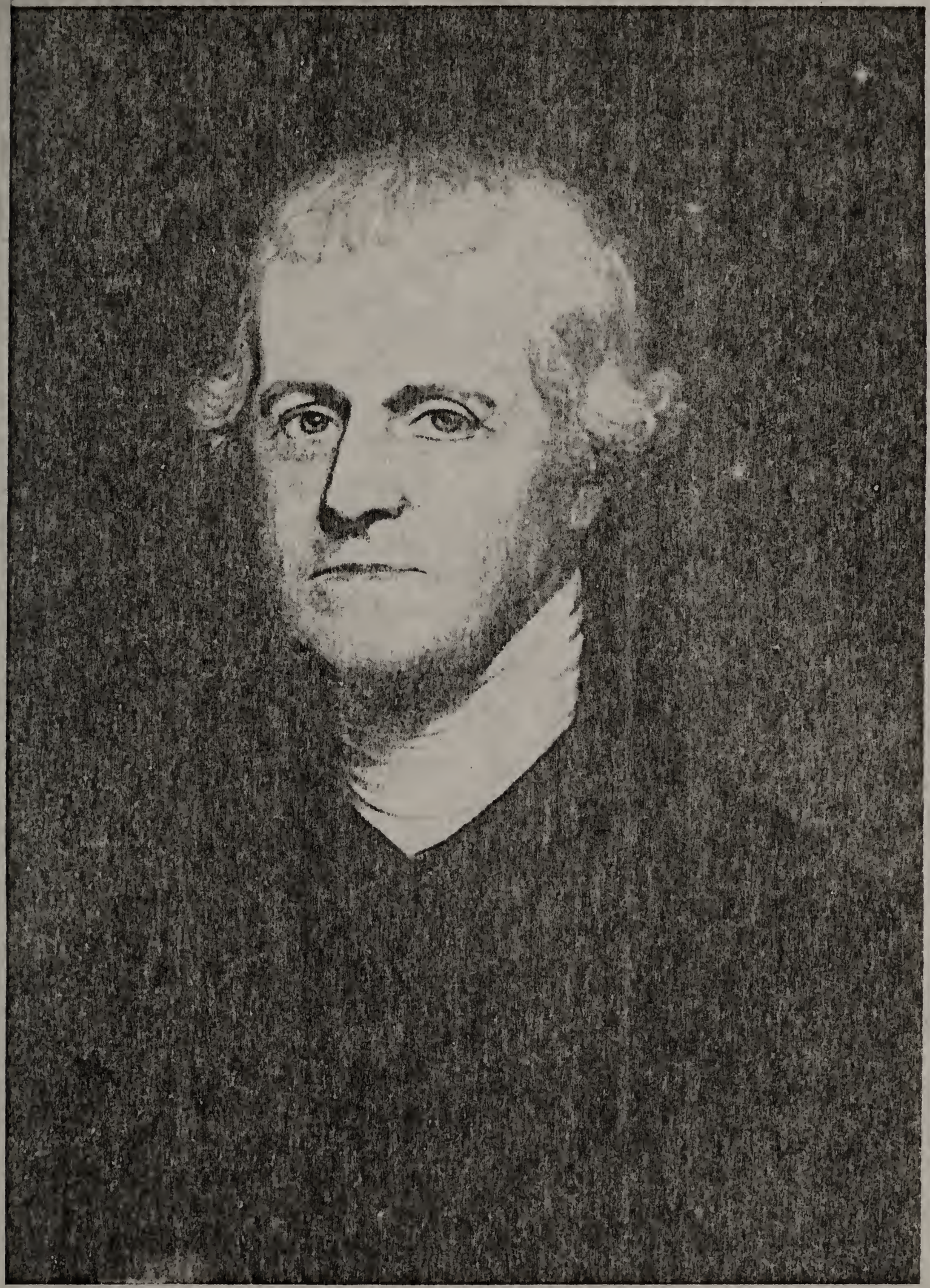
While Noble Wimberly Jones was on parole in Charleston, the British government in Georgia, which had been reestablished with Sir James Wright returning as governor, passed a law disqualifying for office or further participation in the civil activities of the colony, Jones and about 165 other Georgians, because they had engaged in "a most Audacious wicked and unprovoked Rebellion." [11] And while he was now a prisoner in St. Augustine he and about twenty-three other Georgians were attained of high treason and ordered to return and give themselves up

within six months or suffer the confiscation of their property.[12] For some reason the British ignored the fact that they already had Noble Wimberly Jones in their hands; but they did not forget to confiscate his property. Probably they would rather have Jones's property than his head; and, also, seizing his property would be retaliation and sweet revenge for his having signed a law on March 1, 1778, while he was speaker of the House of Assembly before the fall of Savannah, declaring Sir James Wright and many other Georgia Royalists guilty of high treason and confiscating their property.[13]

On May 3, 1781 General Nathanael Greene and Lord Cornwallis reached an agreement for a general exchange of prisoners in the Southern Department. Naturally the prisoners in St. Augustine were included but they must go to some point in Virginia or to Philadelphia. They all chose Philadelphia. Numbering now sixty-one, they left in two vessels (Jones in the schooner *East Florida*) on July 20 and arrived in Philadelphia ten days later.[14]

Here, by the accident of war, was the beginning of a long association of the Jones family with Philadelphia, which was to have a profound effect on the family fortunes and continue on down into the twentieth century. Noble Wimberly Jones, whose thoughts seem never to have been far or long removed from his medicine kit, immediately took up the practice of medicine in Philadelphia, awaiting the day when he could return to Georgia. Dr. Benjamin Rush, who had a career of patriotic politics and medicine in Pennsylvania much like Jones had in Georgia, welcomed him, became his good friend, and aided him in establishing himself in his practice.

But however much Noble Wimberly Jones might want to get away from political service, in Georgia or out, he found it difficult. As soon as the Georgia House of Assembly learned that Jones was in Philadelphia it elected him one of the state's delegates to the Continental Congress. His election was August 21, 1781, about three weeks after his arrival. The Congress was in session at that time, but Jones did not take his seat until September 27, for he probably did not receive notification of his



n the portrait by Charles Willson Peale.

NOBLE WIMBERLY JONES

election for at least two weeks. So, he was not unduly tardy in entering upon his duties. He had as colleagues from Georgia, Edward Telfair and William Few. Samuel Stirk, who had been elected, never appeared. Jones had first been elected to the Continental Congress in 1775 but had never attended; now that he was on hand he was faithful in his duties, sometimes being the only Georgia delegate present. He did not, however, take a prominent part in the deliberations. On November 16, 1781, now that Cornwallis had surrendered his army at Yorktown the month before, a motion was offered in Congress directing General Washington to move his army into the Southern Department to aid General Greene in expelling the enemy. Jones and all the other delegates south of Virginia (North Carolina not being represented at that time) voted for the measure, and all the others were against it. Though Jones's term extended into 1783, the last meeting he attended was on November 2, 1782. Having by this time heard of the recovery of Savannah from the British in the previous July, he was anxious to return to Georgia. With Jones's departure, Georgia was left unrepresented until June 30, 1784.[15]

Jones soon set out for Georgia and arrived probably sometime in December. He made a very leisurely trip home, which must have been by land, for he took forty days for the journey—a voyage from Philadelphia to Savannah would not have required more than eight days. When Jones had been appointed delegate, he was promised the regular allowance of expenses while serving and going and returning. He reckoned his service at 401 days (September 27, 1781 to November 1, 1782—not counting his last day on the floor) and his returning at forty days, making a total number of days of 441. He handed in his expenses at $4.00 a day.[16]

It seemed almost impossible for the Georgia House of Assembly to hold a session without feeling that if Noble Wimberly Jones was not present and therefore could not be elected speaker, still even in his absence he must be elected to some office. They had chosen him a delegate to the Continental Congress and thereby had actually made him a member of their own body,

for according to Article XVI of the state constitution, all Continental delegates were automatically given the right "to sit, debate and vote, in the House of Assembly, and be deemed a part thereof." While Jones was in Philadelphia and three days before they had thought to elect him a delegate to the Continental Congress, they appointed him a magistrate for Chatham County, a position to which they re-elected him on January 12, 1782, while he was still serving as a delegate in Congress, and, of course, he could not perform the duties of a magistrate of Chatham County.[17]

Though Noble Wimberly Jones could not have arrived back in Georgia by the first Tuesday in December 1782, on that day the people of Chatham County elected him one of their nine members of the coming House of Assembly, and on January 10 following, the fourth day of the session, he "appeared And took the Oath." [18] In the meantime on the second day of the session, it elected John Houstoun speaker, as there must have been a lack of information on Jones's whereabouts. Undoubtedly after Jones's return Houstoun must have had the uncomfortable feeling of a usurper as he sat in the speaker's chair. Being unable to endure it longer, on the thirteenth he expressed "a desire to decline The Chair in favour of Mr. Noble Wimberly Jones who arrived since the choosing of a speaker." So Jones returned to his accustomed seat.[19]

Though the official minutes of this session indicate nothing beyond the ordinary happenings of a meeting of the House, yet all other accounts indicate that there was great commotion and that many disorders marred the decorum of that body. This should not be surprising in the light of the social and economic confusions incident to the war, which was not yet ended, sectional rivalries within the state, personal jealousies among the officials of government, widespread charges of dishonesties among them, and the financial collapse of the state.

The rivalry of the upcountry against the low country was long to disturb the peace of the state—the attempt of the great flocks of new settlers to secure a voice in the government commensurate with their numbers and the intrenched low country's

determination to hold what it had. Especially did the upcountry frontiersmen want the capital removed from Savannah to a place more accessible to them, their choice being Augusta temporarily. Of course, Savannah and Chatham County were determined to keep it. "You have vainly thought that the county of Chatham would rule the state," charged a supporter of the frontiersmen's claims.[20] But "A Back Countryman," trying to calm ruffled feelings, said that he did not believe that many of the upcountrymen wanted "to see one part of the state at variance with the other," adding that "for my own part if I had sense enough to be an Assemblyman, I wou'd rather ride from the head of Keowee to the lower end of St. Mary's to help do the public business." [21]

When Savannah had been captured by the British in 1778, the capital was moved to Augusta where it remained off and on when the British were not in possession of the city. Now that the British had evacuated Savannah, the House of Assembly was meeting there, but much against the will of the upcountrymen. A compromise was effected whereby the next session of the House was to be in Augusta. For the next few years the sessions were to oscillate between Augusta and Savannah, until ultimately Augusta was to win out. Savannah still clung to the state official records until finally after much bickering and various disorderly attempts to seize them by violence, they were transported to Augusta.[22]

Charging financial laxities of state officials, the Chatham County grand jury in the spring of 1783 presented as a grievance that for the past four years there had been no accounting of monies spent by the state, and it cited George Walton as being guilty of gross financial irregularities.[23] Yet, said an outraged Georgian, the House had recently elected him Chief Justice of the state. "How a man could be thought eligible by the Legislature to fill an office of the first consequence of the state," he exclaimed, "while a charge of the most heinous nature lay against him before that body, is an inexplicable paradox, a solecism in politics, which the world will never be able to comprehend, unless publick infamy shall be considered as the only recommendation to publick trust." [24]

Noble Wimberly Jones did not come through the disorders of this session unscathed. In a commotion, unrecorded in the official minutes but mentioned in other accounts, the House was temporarily disrupted "on a question of importance to the finances." [25] In the evening a mob led by some of the legislators formed and marched on Edward Telfair's house where Noble Wimberly Jones was at the time. When Jones came out to quell the mob, he was attacked and wounded in the head with a broadsword. Before this night of disorders was over, Jones called on Governor Lyman Hall and received his aid in dispersing the mob.[26]

On February 18, 1783 the House adjourned to meet again, not in Savannah but in Augusta on May 15—it having the right to chose its meeting place, according to Article II of the constitution. This decision indicated that the upcountrymen were in control; but on April 18 the Executive Council advised and authorized the Governor to call the House into session on May 1 and in Savannah.[27] Article XX of the constitution gave the governor with the advice of the Council the power "to call the House of Assembly together, upon any emergency, before the time which they stand adjourned to." And it should be inferred that the meeting place would be the one regularly used, which was Savannah as the Governor directed.

On May 1 a faction of the House met in Savannah but found no quorum. They tried again on May 2, 3, 5, and 6 but without success; whereupon on the sixth they adjourned to August 2 to such place as the Governor should direct. However, on May 15, another faction met in Augusta, according to the previous adjournment but they were unable to form a quorum. They continued to meet on May 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 26 without being able to form a quorum. Then they adjourned to July 1 but still finding no quorum they met without a quorum on July 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8. The next day, July 9, they found a quorum present and proceeded to business. As Noble Wimberly Jones had appeared with neither the Savannah nor the Augusta faction in their attempts to form a House, presumably it was not known whether he would attend now that the House was legally

in session. So the House proceeded to elect William Gibbons, Sr., "Speaker pro tempore," that is, to serve until Jones should arrive, for according to parliamentary usage, he was still speaker of this adjourned session. But Jones was not to arrive for this session or for any other session of a Georgia legislature. Before this day's meeting was over a letter came from George Jones, the son of Noble Wimberly, "Informing the House that his father (the Speaker) has had a dangerous fit of Sickness which rendered it Impracticable for him to Attend the House at this time." [28] It is not known whether he was suffering from complications which could have been produced by the broadsword wound he received in the recent mob violence or whether his dangerous fit of sickness came from independent causes, and it is not certainly known that he was still in Georgia, for sometime in the year 1783 he removed to Charleston, South Carolina.[29]

Perhaps he had been wounded in spirit as well as in body by that broadsword. He had suffered imprisonment and lost a son in the war for Georgia's independence, and his reward was a broadsword wound. Maybe he would get away from the jealousies, bickerings, and confusions of Georgia politics. Even so, there were other reasons for his leaving Savannah for Charleston. He had a daughter who had married and settled in Charleston; she had recently died, and there was need for him there. But probably above all else he wanted to practice his beloved medicine and it seemed that he might have the broadest opportunities in Charleston, where his former patients were longing for his return. So to Charleston he moved, and there he remained until the end of the year 1788.[30] Again he seems to have led a very uneventful life, for neither the *Gazette of the State of South-Carolina* nor the *Columbian Herald* or the *Independent Courier of North America,* Charleston newspapers, mention his name.[31]

Noble Wimberly Jones in Charleston became a sort of ambassador to South Carolina for Georgia; and, indeed, there was need for one, as there were various active disputes between the two states. One of the most troublesome related to their common boundary line. The question was which of the two branches of the Savannah in its upper stretches was the true boundary

—whether the western prong, the Chattooga-Tugaloo, or the eastern, the Keowee-Seneca. There was a large triangle of land involved and each state had been making grants of land in this region. In June 1784 the Executive Council asked Jones to demand of South Carolina that their governor sign no grants for land in this region.[32] The dispute was settled three years later in the Convention of Beaufort, with Georgia losing her claims. In March 1785 Governor Samuel Elbert wrote Jones that the House of Assembly had resolved that Jones should return to Savannah "a box of books, and other State documents," now in his possession in Charleston.[33] It is not known how or why these documents happened to be in Jones's possession, unless he took them out of the state in the squabbles in Savannah incident to the removal of the state records to Augusta; or it is possible that they could have been some of the state's records which had been scattered about when the British seized Savannah in 1778.

CHAPTER XI

Noble Wimberly Jones, Physician and Citizen

IF the reason for Noble Wimberly Jones's going to live in Charleston, South Carolina, was to get away from Georgia politics, he had after five years sufficiently weaned himself to venture back, enticed no doubt by memories as old as Georgia itself. So, in 1788 he returned to live in Savannah and with one short intermission, to remain there until his death, not to take part in public life any further than seemed absolutely necessary for good citizenship, but to practice medicine. Out of a family which had at least one lineal descendant for four successive generations entering the medical profession, he was by far the most eminent and longest engaged in its practice.

As has been noted, he got the rudiments of medicine from his father, Noble Jones, and from the same source he received all the formal education he had—"plain English and Latin education." [1] Beyond that, in the words of Dr. John Grimes, who married his granddaughter, "The bedside of his patients was *his* university; the *Camp* and *Fort* his hospital and theater." [2] Father and son, Noble and Noble Wimberly, associated themselves in their practice from 1748 to 1756, after which Noble Wimberly practiced alone as his public duties permitted until 1789, when another father and son combination was formed with Noble Wimberly and his son George, which continued until 1795.[3] Before the Revolution, Noble Wimberly Jones came as near being the medical department of the colonial government as there was. He received specified sums from the public treasury for medical services given "to the Prisoners in Gaol" or "for Attending sick

prisoners in the Common Gaol in Savannah." [4] But his practice took him far out of Savannah and away from the public jails. He traveled on horseback into the country as far as Sunbury, forty miles to the southward; he never turned down a call from the sick and afflicted because of any hardships in making it. As Dr. John Grimes, one of his eulogists, said, "Neither the inclemency of the weather, the untimeliness of the hour, nor his own ill health, could operate as barriers to the accomplishment of his benevolent purposes." The stream of humanity coming from his heart "was neither to be congealed by the wintry blasts nor evaporated by the summer blaze." "So gentle and sympathizing was Doctor Jones' manner in a sick room that pain and distress seemed to be suspended in his presence." [5]

Noble Wimberly Jones had great "obstetric talents," and in this field of medicine, according to Dr. Grimes, "he was certainly master of his art. For knowledge and experience in this important branch of his profession, he was surpassed by none in this, or perhaps any *other* country." [6] Just as Dr. Jones was a progressive in politics, so was he likewise in medicine. He was not hidebound; he had no fixed notions about medical practices and remedies. He was always willing to embrace new ideas. As his eulogist said, "He was convinced that medicine is still in its infancy, and detested that stability in error so disgraceful to the healing art." [7] It was this willingness to learn that led Dr. Jones to keep minute meteorological observations. He was greatly interested in climate and its effects on health. Temperature, weather conditions, rain, clouds, sunshine—all, he felt, played their part on the health of a person. On the day beginning his last illness, January 1, 1805, he made his final weather recording: "at 3 a. m. the heat forty degrees, clear and starlight." [8]

In 1796 there were two great fires in Savannah, which destroyed a large part of the city. In this disaster, Dr. Jones lost his stocks of medicine, his medical books, his account books, and his weather observations. Being now seventy years old, he decided to give up his practice and retire to his country estate. It took only six weeks of inactivity to set him growing weak and ill, "fatigued by rest." His friends prevailed on him to return to the city and

resume his medical practice, which he continued until his last illness.[9]

Jones was the most eminent doctor of medicine in Georgia, where there were many able doctors and where the medical profession had made much progress. To further promote medical science in the state, Dr. Noble Wimberly Jones, his son Dr. George Jones, Dr. John Grimes, and fifteen other doctors of medicine petitioned the legislature in 1804 to incorporate the Georgia Medical Society, "for the purpose of lessening the fatality induced by climate and incidental causes, and improving the science of medicine." The charter was granted on December 12, and Noble Wimberly Jones was elected the first president of the Society.[10]

In 1750 a group of five Savannah gentlemen formed a club for social and benevolent purposes. One of their chief interests was to care for and educate orphan children, even though the Bethesda Orphan School was in operation a few miles from the city and was administering to the religious and educational welfare of a large number of children. These original members soon associated with themselves other gentlemen and now they called themselves the St. George Society. Sometime before 1765 they took on the name Union Society. Noble Wimberly Jones first became a member in 1774.[11] The next year he was elected a steward and during the first part of the Revolution he kept in his home the books and records of the Society. When the British seized Savannah and Jones went to Charleston he left these records behind; they were never recovered, though a reward was offered for them in 1783.[12] Jones was elected president of the Society in 1790 and again in 1792.[13]

There were not many organizations in those days for a person to join, and even had there been, Noble Wimberly Jones would not have been a joiner, for he had no ego to be tickled by such trivialities, and though he was a liberal he was not a crusader for foolish or dangerous ideas that busybodies might join together to promote. Furthermore he considered his time too valuable to be wasted in any manner whatsoever. The organizations he joined had a serious and sensible purpose. In addition to be-

longing to the Georgia Medical Society and the Union Society, he was a Mason and held membership in the Episcopal Church, which in colonial times had been the Church of England.

In his later life Noble Wimberly Jones was one of the most distinguished citizens of Savannah and as such he was often called upon to preside at meetings on patriotic occasions, such as celebrating the Fourth of July.[14] The most important occasion of this kind was President Washington's visit to Savannah in 1791. He arrived at 6 o'clock on the evening of Thursday, May 12, and left for Augusta, Sunday morning on the fifteenth.[15] During the three days of his visit Noble Wimberly Jones was prominent in the formalities. He was at the head of five eminent Georgia Patriots, Joseph Habersham, John Houstoun, Lachlan McIntosh, and Joseph Clay, who welcomed Washington to Georgia many miles up the Savannah, at Purrysburg on the South Carolina side. Here the committee escorted Washington to a boat rowed by nine gaily-dressed sea captains, and entering it with him proceeded down the river. They stopped at Mulberry Grove for Washington to pay a call on Mrs. Nathanael Greene, the widow of his beloved companion in arms, and, in the President's words, ask this beautiful and vivacious woman "how she did." [16]

On the day after Washington's arrival, Noble Wimberly Jones and his committee gave the President a formal welcome in the name of the city. In his formal address Jones said, "History furnishes instances of some eminently qualified for the field, and of others endued with talents adequate to the intricate affairs of state; but you, Sir, have enriched the annals of America with a proof, to be sent abroad to all mankind, that, however rare the association, the virtues and talents of soldier and republican statesman will sometimes dwell together, and both characters derive additional lustre from a subserviency to the precepts of Religion." [17] Another day of Savannah hospitalities, and Washington left for Augusta.

This was not the last time Noble Wimberly Jones would address Washington, though not again in person. It was logical that a liberal like Jones would find little agreement with Washington's

conservative Federalist politics, and though he had great personal respect for the President he did not shrink from opposing some of his policies. As might well be expected, there were Federalists in Georgia as well as Anti-Federalists or Jeffersonian Republicans, as they were coming to be called, and during the 1790s the two factions in state and nation differed most keenly on foreign relations. The Federalists were more friendly to the British, while the Jeffersonians preferred France. But even so, the United States was having grave difficulties with the British, who were boldly interfering with American commerce on the high seas and who had not yet carried out all the terms of the Treaty of Independence, including especially their giving up the Northwest posts on American soil. So much were the British inflaming American feelings toward war that Washington to avert this disaster sent John Jay to England to make a treaty settling the problems. Jay came back with a treaty, but not one which pleased most Americans; yet Washington was successful in inducing the Senate to ratify it. It was during this period of our strained relations with Britain that a meeting in Savannah in January 1794 passed resolutions favoring Washington's policies. In the following March, the Jeffersonians held a meeting condemning America's truckling to the British and appointed a committee with Noble Wimberly Jones as chairman to address Washington on the subject. At this meeting were also George Jones, Joseph Habersham, William Gibbons, Sr., Mordecai Sheftall, and other well-known Georgia leaders.[18]

But it should not be inferred that Noble Wimberly Jones was taking a prominent part in politics or in governmental activities. Only on the most important occasions did he take time from his medical activities for such interests. For instance by 1791 the House of Representatives, as the lower branch of the General Assembly was now called in the Constitution of 1789, had not yet abandoned the practice of electing Noble Wimberly Jones to some office, even when it could no longer elect him speaker, after he had given up membership in that body. So in that year, when it elected him a justice of the inferior court of Chatham,

he replied, "I am fully sensible of the honor done me, but as neither my Inclination, business or abilities suit it," he could not accept the position.[19]

The last occasion on which Noble Wimberly Jones performed an important public service for his state was in 1795, when he presided over the Constitutional Convention of that year. The Constitution of 1789 provided that at the general election of 1794 delegates be chosen for a constitutional convention to meet at a time and place chosen by the General Assembly, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the alterations necessary to be made in this Constitution." The General Assembly set the first Monday in May of 1795 as the time and Louisville as the place. It seemed entirely logical for Jones, a delegate from Chatham County, to be elected president of the convention for it had come to be almost a fixed habit to make him presiding officer over any meeting which he happened to attend. The convention worked with dispatch, adjourning on May 16, and promulgating as the law of the land eight amendments to the Constitution of 1789.[20]

The most important ones dealt with the troublesome fight for power between the expanding upcountry people and the relatively stationary population of the coast. The heart of this struggle was representation in the General Assembly, but also of importance was the location of the capital, each section wanting it for prestige as well as convenience of access. The Convention settled temporarily the former issue by apportioning representation to the counties on the basis of population, dividing them into four-member, three-member, and two-member counties. In 1786, Savannah had completely lost her position of capital city, which she had partly held since the end of the Revolution through the rotation of the meetings of the legislature between that city and Augusta. The legislature this year passed an act which made Augusta the capital, until a seat of government could be located to the westward and a town built to be called Louisville.[21] The town had in the meantime been located and public buildings were now near enough to completion to warrant moving from Augusta. So this Convention declared Louis-

ville to be "the permanent seat of government," with the legislature moving there for its next session in January 1796. The upcountry Georgians had won again, and Noble Wimberly Jones had the unusual experience of living for two weeks in a frontier village, engaged in nothing less than helping to make the fundamental law of the land instead of the more common occupations in such places, of engaging in the chase and dodging red Indians.

Noble Wimberly Jones now returned to Savannah to spend the remaining ten years of his life. He had married in 1755 Sarah Davis of Saint Philip Parish, later included in Chatham and Effingham counties, and to this union had been born fourteen children. The labors of child-bearing and nursing were somewhat lightened in those times by employing wet nurses with ample breasts of milk. In 1769 Noble Wimberly Jones inserted this advertisement in the *Georgia Gazette:* "WANTED, A HEALTHY WET NURSE, for a very young child; one without a child will be most agreeable." [22] Their first-born, Sarah, who married John Glen, bore fourteen children, and his son George was the father of ten children. But of his own fourteen children, Noble Wimberly Jones and his wife were saddened with the sorrow of seeing thirteen precede them to the grave.[23]

It had long been his custom to assemble his numerous family connections each year on his wedding anniversary, January 1, and as a sort of patriarch of a numerous tribe to enjoy with them a sumptuous meal and good conversation. On his forty-ninth anniversary (1804) he announced that the next being the fiftieth, he was looking to someone else to make preparations for it, and that person would naturally be his only remaining child, son George. In due time George made preparations for the Golden Fiftieth, January 1, 1805, but just as *Hamlet* could not be enacted if Hamlet were not there, so this anniversary could not be celebrated if Noble Wimberly Jones were not there. He could not come, for he lay gravely ill in his home. For the five preceding nights he had been out on fatiguing obstetric cases, an amazing performance for an 82-year-old doctor. On New Year's morning he was attacked by extreme pains, which he ex-

pected to wear off soon. Instead, they grew worse, and he now became convinced that this was his last illness, and that nothing could be done about it; but sensibly he submitted to various remedies and treatments out of respect for the feelings of his family and friends. He even submitted to bleeding, though he had no faith in it, and probably remembered that this treatment had killed George Washington. Three or four times he was bled. On the eighth day of his illness, feeling that the end was fast approaching, he begged the indulgence of being allowed to sleep peacefully away his few remaining hours. He fell into a doze and at 3 o'clock the morning of the ninth, his life gently flickered out.[24]

The next day his funeral was held "from his dwelling house on the bay," at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.[25] And so passed on "the only remaining one of the first forty Families that migrated on the 1st day of February 1733." The last link with the mighty Oglethorpe was broken.[26] The Georgia Medical Society held a special meeting on the day of his death, and resolved that the members wear crepe for a month, that they take part in the funeral procession, and that a member be appointed "to deliver a Discourse on his life and character, on the first day of May next." A few days later the City Council passed resolutions of tribute to Dr. Jones and resolved to wear crepe for a month in his memory.[27]

Everyone who had known him felt in a eulogistic mood. Some wrote their praise to be published in the newspapers of the state, and others wrote as a release to their own pent-up sorrow. He was remembered as patriot, doctor, and man. He was a "determined friend of freedom" and early "he began to enjoy the honour of being hateful to tyrants." [28] "The public features of his character are referred to the historian of our country, with the political events, of which they are intimately blended—but a pen shall not be wanting to record his professional talents. The walks of medical life, removed from the clamorous remuneration of popular applause, permitted him to cherish, to the end of his life, the modesty and delicacy of conduct for which he was

so eminently distinguished. It was in the silent and unambitious pursuit of the profession of medicine chiefly, that the benevolent and active qualities of his mind delighted to develop and exercise themselves. His eminent and exemplary virtues as a physician will adorn the primitive pages of the medical history of our state." [29] His "sympathy, gentleness and affability rendered him beloved, and respected by society in general and more particularly by the large circle of patients to whom his service were [was] rendered. . . . Truly we may say on this occasion, a good man has fallen: but if years spent in services of his country and performance of his duty as a member of society; if the most benevolent and amiable disposition crowned with a belief in the cheering doctrines of christianity can entitle a man to a triumph over the king of terrors, Dr. Jones might with peculiar propriety exclaim, 'O Death where is thy sting! O grave, where is thy victory!' " [30]

Eulogistic writing, while valuable in estimating the general esteem in which the eulogized was held, does not often bring a person down to his earthy every-day characteristics. How did Jones appear to those who associated with him intimately? He liked horseback riding, not only because it took him into the byways of the country to visit his patients but also because he enjoyed hunting on horseback. He was an excellent marksman. He was generous in his givings but he never wanted his charities mentioned; and so fearful was he of causing any inconvenience to others that he scarcely ever made a request. "In private life he was the pattern of every domestic virtue & made his home a goshen of affection where though all out side was dark light & peace was [*sic*] in his dwelling." Yet this gentle nature naturally should not be taken as an indication of weakness in one who had played so bold a part in opposing British tyrannies and in bringing on American independence, for he was a man "of vigorous mind—of great courage—of promptness & decision." A little incident in the early days of the Revolution was recalled to illustrate these qualities. As he was riding through Market Square in Savannah a mob surrounded him and

demanded to know where he was going. He replied that he was going about his business. The leader declared that he could not leave town and several of the mob attempted to seize his bridle reins. Jones drew his pistol, cocked it, and ordered them to clear the way and touch him at their peril. Putting spurs to his horse, he rode safely through the mob.[31] Believing that time should not be wasted he took care to conserve it. "He was always employed, but never in a hurry." He did his most concentrated study late at night, from 10 o'clock to 12, or early in the morning, from 4 to 7. Amazing as it may seem, he was able to get along on three or four hours' sleep a night. He was extremely temperate "both in the indulgence of his appetite and passions of his mind." He ate mostly vegetables, and he liked especially wheat bread, often making it the principal part of his meal. He rejected all condiments except a little pepper and salt. He had an especial aversion to mutton, crabs, and onions; but out of politeness he always ate what was set before him. For many years before his death he abstained completely from all wines and liquors, though in his earlier life he would drink porter and gin much diluted with water, and after meals a glass of wine. He had a particular fondness for coffee, which he drank not only at meals but at other times to relieve fatigue—coffee, "which leaves no sting, hazards no virtue, destroys no talent." [32]

Dr. Jones was a handsome man with pronounced features, a strong though kindly face, high forehead, well set mouth and prominent chin. Fortunately a portrait of him was painted by Charles Willson Peale, who painted so many of the Revolutionary heroes and who was the first ever to paint a portrait of George Washington. Undoubtedly Peale painted the portrait of Jones in 1781 or 1782, when he was in Philadelphia where Peale lived.[33]

Dr. Jones lived the life of a cultured gentleman in the best traditions of his time. Other portraits than his own hung on his walls, among them being a portrait of Washington by Gilbert Stuart. His house was furnished with rich carpets, silver candlesticks, polished brass tongs, pokers, and shovels, white and blue English china, silverware, mahogany dinner table, side

board, chairs, and bedroom furniture, Russian bed linen, a library, Madeira wines, and other furnishings customary in the homes of cultured people.[34]

Noble Wimberly Jones had inherited Wormsloe in 1795 at the death of his sister Mary, but he had been so long established in his home in Savannah, and on his Lambeth plantation too, that he never made Wormsloe his residence. In 1804 he deeded Wormsloe to his son George, and as he had in 1803 by auction disposed of much of his household furniture, his estate at his death was much depleted. At this time he had sixty-five slaves, valued at from $10 to $450 each, totaling $12,791. He had also thirty-six head of cattle, twenty-seven sheep, five hogs, and a great variety of household and kitchen furniture in his plantation home. His entire estate was appraised at $14,486.[35]

CHAPTER XII

George Jones, Officeholder

GEORGE JONES, third generation of Jones in America and the fourth master of Wormsloe, was almost forty years old when his father died. Though his father and grandfather had done well financially, George Jones was to lay the foundations of the family fortune through his business acumen and appropriate marriages. His cultural and economic interests and his official positions were more varied and numerous than those of any other Jones up to his time. That he did not make an outstanding contribution in any one field of activity accounts for the fact that his name came to be almost unremembered and unknown in the subsequent history of his state.

As there had been a physician in each generation of the Jones family from its landing in America, and as Noble Wimberly Jones did not want the tradition to die with himself, he strongly desired his son George "contrary to his original bias" to enter that profession.[1] So, George became a physician and practiced for some years with his father; and though he became proficient and famous enough in the medical arts to be elected for at least three times president of the Georgia Medical Society (1809, 1810, and 1813), he did not make medicine his principal interest. Previously he had served as Health Officer of Savannah from August to December 1791. And it is interesting to note that he was always conscious of the need for vigilance in looking after the health of the city. For instance, when he happened to be in New York City in 1793 he learned of a terrible yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia. He wrote immediately to the mayor of Savannah to inform him of the fact and to suggest that the city quarantine itself against Philadelphia.[2] Probably George's

first love was politics and public office, with a strong desire to play a part in the economic development of Georgia as well as to promote morality and sound citizenship.

His first public office, far down on the scale of the ladder of anyone's ambition, was Register of Probates for Chatham County; but it bespoke some standing among men of affairs that he was elected to this position by the House of Assembly. This was in 1783; he was re-elected annually until 1787.[3] It may be a debatable question whether it was a greater honor to be elected by the few, important men in the state legislature, or by the many, the commonalty of the county. In subsequent times Jones would fare well at the hands of both. In 1786 the House of Assembly elected him Treasurer of the state and re-elected him the following year but he resigned the office on August 7, giving as his reason that his "private concerns" demanded his "immediate attention from public business, together with low Salary paid in depreciated Currency." [4] He probably considered it a step up the political ladder, when in 1792 he was elected by Chatham County to be a member of the House of Representatives. He was re-elected the next year.[5] Whether or not the duties of the position were any more important than that of representative, Jones was in 1796 elected a senator. Under the Constitution of 1789, the senators served for three years, but now because of the amendment made in the Convention of 1795, of which George's father was chairman, the senators served for a term of only one year. Jones was re-elected for the next two succeeding years, 1797 and 1798, serving in the sessions of 1797, 1798, and 1799; [6] but in the meantime he was elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1798, which sat in Louisville from May 8 to the thirtieth, and made the third constitution, under which, with some amendments, the state would live until the Civil War. As under the Constitution of 1789 (amended in 1795), so in this one, the senators were to serve for only one year.[7]

George Jones, one of three delegates from Chatham County, took an active part in the deliberations of the Convention. He showed a keen sense of public responsibility both in seeing that

important rights and liberties heretofore guaranteed should not be forgotten in this document and that new protections for private liberties and public morality be added. The Constitution of 1789 had protected freedom of the press and trial by jury, but this Convention was on the point of forgetting these guarantees when Jones successfully moved their inclusion.[8] His greatest contribution, however, was in adding new provisions never before found in the fundamental law of the state and one which was unique in legislative procedure in America. Pursuing an idea no doubt born of his experiences as Treasurer of the state, Jones secured the adoption of a clause declaring that no holder or collector of public monies should be eligible for office "until such persons shall have accounted for, and paid into the Treasury all sums for which he may be accountable or liable." [9] And to protect further the state's revenues, Jones had the following clause added to the provision relating to the appropriation of money from the treasury: "And a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public monies shall be published from time to time." [10]

And just as the state should be protected in its finances, so the individual must be guaranteed against the customary rigors applied to those who were unable to pay their debts. Jones in his humanitarian instincts here was far ahead of the usages in American states at that time. He did not secure the absolute prohibition of imprisonment for debts, but he did succeed in including in this Constitution the provision that no debtor "where there is not a strong presumption of fraud" should be imprisoned "after delivering up bona fide all his estate real and personal." [11]

Jones's concern in promoting good citizenship led him to secure the adoption of a clause relating to education. The Constitution of 1777 had provided that schools should be erected in each county and supported at the general expense, but all provision for supporting education had been left out of the Constitution of 1789. Now Jones secured the adoption of a clause extending the idea of education beyond the common schools. Therefore, the "arts and sciences" should be promoted "in one

or more seminaries of learning," and the legislature should give further aid to those schools already in existence. In fact, back in 1785 a "seminary of learning" (the present University of Georgia) had been chartered and endowed but nothing further had been done toward bringing it into existence. Probably with this in mind, Jones added to his clause on education the direct order to the next assembly "to provide effectual measures for the improvement and permanent security of the funds and endowments of all such institutions." [12]

By far the most significant and unique if not the most important of the contributions Jones made was the clause: "nor shall any law or ordinance pass containing any matter different from what is expressed in the title thereof." [13] There was an exciting background for this provision. The famous Yazoo Fraud (infamous to Jones and most Georgians of the time) had been slipped across in 1795 by the legislature, some of whose members may have been ignorant of what was being done. A law disposing of most of the state's vast western territory reaching to the Mississippi River, at about one cent an acre, bore this innocent title: *"An Act supplementary to an act, entitled 'An Act for appropriating a part of the unlocated territory of this State for the payment of the late State troops, and for other purposes therein mentioned,' declaring the right of this State to the unappropriated territory thereof, for the protection and support of the frontier of this State, and for other purposes."* [14] This method of Jones's in protecting sleepy legislators and even less vigilant citizens at large against chicanery and fraud was copied widely by the other American states.

George Jones had shown in this Convention and in the legislature a strong sense of public duty and responsibility which he and many of his fellow-citizens thought fitted him for further service in a more responsible position. So he announced for the United States House of Representatives in the election of 1801.[15] The editor of the *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* published in Savannah, expressed his approval thus: "This gentleman having for years served in the State Legislature affords to the Electors at large a knowledge of his rectitude, talents, and abilities." [16]

Running against three other candidates, Jones was badly defeated. The winner was John Milledge, whose grandfather had come over with the first settlers of Georgia on the ship *Anne,* just as had Jones's grandfather; but Milledge was almost ten years older than Jones and had by far a more impressive record of public service. He had already served three terms in Congress and had for the past two terms been entrenched there. Milledge received many more votes than the other two candidates combined. Jones came out last, with only 172 votes, while Milledge received 1,911.[17] Jones was never to have much of a popular appeal in an election throughout his life, having been elected to no office beyond the gift of Savannah and Chatham County.

George Jones's service to his city of Savannah in an elected position began in 1793 when he became a member of the City Council for a year. He served another term beginning in 1802.[18] It was at this time that he became the cause and center of a heated controversy. On December 13 of this year the Council by a vote of four to two, with Jones one of the dissenters, passed a resolution allowing "Mr. Placide and his company" to play in the theatre on Saturday nights provided their performance ended by 11:30. Jones's religious feelings were outraged by this kind of worldly amusements, so generally frowned upon, intruding itself so closely to the approach of the holy day of all Christians. Four days later, Jones, in an unsigned article in the *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* condemned the Council for this action. He lamented that "magistrates representing a city, the majority at least of whose citizens profess the Christian religion, should evidence so little regard for the feelings of their constituents as appeared" in the recent action. He called upon the people to show their disapproval by remaining away from the theatre on every night until the Council should rescind its resolution.[19]

The Council, greatly upset by this attack, demanded of the editor the name of its author; but the editor refused to give the desired information. Learning from some other source that Jones had made the attack, a member introduced a resolution of censure, declaring that the publication was "illiberal, indeco-

rous and betrays a want of that decent respect and attention with which the several members of this Board ought ever to treat each other . . . , and evidences a disposition in the author to build up a reputation to himself at the expense of his colleagues." [20] Jones moved an amendment to this resolution, in which he held that it was ever the right of a people to look into the acts of their representatives and that any "proceeding tending to deny or impair" such rights was "derogatory to the principles of our free government and the constitution of the State and the United States." [21] Jones was defeated in this move but another resolution embracing much the same idea was introduced and passed; however, it also contained a rebuke to Jones in which it was stated that he had "violated the rules of propriety and decorum, forgotten the respect due to his fellows, insulted the dignity of the Council," and merited their "highest displeasure." [22] On January 24, 1803 Jones resigned from the Council.

But Jones had his defenders and one of them signing himself "Friend of Merit" attacked the Council for its censuring Jones, whose only crime was a defense of holy religion and the public morality. He added that the "character of George Jones, esq. needs no defense in this city, where with the exception of a few vindictive individuals, his worth is so universally admitted." [23] This episode gave a clear indication of the sort of man Jones was, one who was fearlessly defending and reflecting the moral feeling of the times against theatrical performances, narrow as such an attitude might appear to a subsequent age, and one who would defend the freedom of the press, a principle which he had recently embedded in the new constitution. His hiding behind anonymity in his article in the newspaper might appear as less than being forthright, but he doubtless felt that more could be accomplished by keeping his name secret.

His resignation did not end permanently his service in the city government. In 1812 he was elected to the Council as one of fourteen members, receiving next to the highest vote.[24] The Council immediately elected him mayor.[25] The next year he was re-elected to the Council and the Council advanced him to

the mayoralty again. Thus he was mayor from September 14, 1812 to September 12, 1814. In this latter year he was elected again to the Council but he was not selected as mayor.[26] Four years later he was one of twenty-one candidates running for fourteen seats on the Council, but he was defeated, being next to the bottom in votes received.[27] During these war years when he was serving in the city government, he ran for the state senate in 1812, but was defeated by a more than two-to-one vote; but the next year he was elected. He served in the session from November 1 through December 4, 1813. He was a member of various committees, including the important Joint Committee on the State of the Republic. Though not the most active member, not as active, for instance, as the subsequently famous John Dooly of Lincoln County, he played a prominent part in the deliberations.[28]

This second war against Great Britain, known in history as the War of 1812, developed much excitement in Savannah, though it was never to touch that city. True enough the most galling of the British insults, interference with American commerce, touched Georgians very lightly in an economic aspect, yet these insults were resented as much in Georgia as elsewhere. And when in 1807 the British warship *Leopard* treacherously attacked the American naval ship *Chesapeake,* there was an outburst against Great Britain which easily could have led to war. In Savannah, George Jones was one of a committee to draw up resolutions of protest and make preparations for war.[29] When in 1812 the United States did declare war on Great Britain, George Jones was elected captain of a volunteer company raised in Savannah to defend the city.[30] His only previous military experience had been in the Revolution, when as a mere lad he had taken a part in its last years sufficiently to get captured and be sent to a prison ship.[31]

But Mayor Jones was vigilant in making preparations for the defense of Savannah from the time he assumed office in 1812 to the end of his second term in 1814. In 1813 the principal citizens of Savannah met and agreed to raise by a special tax $10,000 for the defense of the city. Mayor Jones was soon in communica-

tion with Governor David B. Mitchell, requesting him to take steps to have the state bear part of the expenses; and the next year, when the war seemed to be nearing the city Mayor Jones wrote Peter Early, who had now become the chief executive of Georgia, that the "Enemy hovers on our coast, but has not yet attempted a landing." No doubt recalling how the British had captured Savannah by a land attack in the Revolution, Mayor Jones advised Governor Early that land defenses should be constructed, and that Georgia should look to their construction and to manning them, for nothing could be expected from the United States Government, which had "suffered its Capitol to be destroyed by the enemy." And a few days later he wrote the Governor begging him to send state militia immediately to help defend the city against "the large & well disciplined army with which the enemy will in all probability invade the city." In the meanwhile Mayor Jones kept lookout boats patrolling the mouth of the Savannah River. As it turned out, the British never made an assault on the city.[32] The nearest the war came to Savannah was in the latter part of 1814 and in early 1815, after the treaty of peace had been signed, when British warships ravaged the islands off the coast and threatened Savannah.[33]

But in the meantime, following Jones's troubles in the city Council in 1802 but before his subsequent service in the city government, he held the highest two offices in his career, both appointive. During his lifetime Jones could rightly have been given various titles and undoubtedly he was called at one time or another by each one of them—Dr. Jones, Judge Jones, Senator Jones, Mayor Jones, to mention the principal ones. Though called Dr. Jones more frequently than any other, he wore with greater distinction the title of Judge Jones, for he was temperamentally a judge and he received greater acclaim in that position than in any other he ever held.

It might be said that Jones's first formal judicial training began when he served as a Justice of the Peace of Chatham County in 1790 (re-appointed in 1799). Subsequently he was an inferior court judge of Chatham County from 1791 to 1799, and again, from 1800 to 1804, and still again, from 1813 to 1817.[34] And

there was additional judicial training in serving as foreman of grand juries of Chatham County, as for instance in 1798, when he presented the customary grievances, such as ships dumping ballast in the harbor of Savannah and the bad state of the jail.[35]

Jones could properly wear the title of judge only when he became a superior court judge. This was on July 27, 1804, when Governor John Milledge commissioned him judge of the Eastern District, the Governor being the same man who had defeated Jones in the Congressional election three years earlier. There were three judicial districts in the state at this time, the Eastern, Middle, and Western. The Eastern was the original district and was composed of the counties of Camden, Glynn, McIntosh, Liberty, Bryan, Bulloch, Chatham, and Effingham. Court was held in succeeding weeks, county by county, twice a year, in October and November and in March, April, and May.[36] The superior court was the highest court in the state; a supreme court was not to be established for many years to come. The term of the superior court judge was for three years. He was elected by the legislature and commissioned by the governor.

As has already been intimated, Jones made an excellent judge. He received the glowing commendations of various grand juries, in language something more than meaningless formal praise. Entering upon his duties in November following his appointment, he immediately became acquainted with the difficulties of travel from one county court to another. Especially tiresome and even dangerous was travel in the coastal counties where many rivers and indentations of the sea must be crossed in open boats, but Judge Jones was determined to be on time for the opening of each court and he let neither storm nor rough weather delay him. After making his opening address to the court of McIntosh County, he was welcomed to his new appointment by Thomas Spalding, foreman of the grand jury, who thanked him for his address and complimented him for "his punctual attendance on the first day of court" in spite of "the almost insuperable difficulties" impeding his progress from Glynn County. Here was a judge "on whose integrity we could rely, in whose talents we could confide, and to whose respect-

ability we cheerfully bear testimony as the judge of our district." [37]

The grand jury of Glynn County was equally emphatic in its commendation of Judge Jones, calling especial attention to his prompt attendance, not like former judges who allowed justice to suffer greatly by their tardiness or even at times by their non-appearance. With great satisfaction the members of the jury heard of his appointment, "well knowing that patriotic motives could alone induce you to accept an appointment where the duties are so laborious and the recompense so small." They were sensible that he had hazarded his life "in crossing the Sounds from Camden County during a heavy storm, from the violence of which we believed it impossible for any boat to pass, and had again lost the hope of having a Court." Equally conscious of the hazards of travel on the poor roads, they recommended the improvement of the county highways, and knowing the pittance the judges received as salary, the jurors recommended to the legislature that it better reward the judges "so as to induce men of respectability to accept the appointment, for we cannot always expect that your honor, or any other gentlemen whom we may wish to see placed in that honorable station, can always sacrifice their private affairs to serve their country for a salary which we conceive insufficient to defray the travelling expenses during the Circuit." [38]

Having experienced a term of court under Judge Jones, the Effingham grand jury thanked him for his "assiduous attention to the business of the term, the solicitude evinced by his conduct for the preservation of order and decorum in the court and the uniformity [*sic*], able and upright discharge of the highly important duties of his office. For the arduous & laudable exertions, by which under circumstances of peculiar embarrassment has holden court in all the counties of the district, we feel that he is entitled to the gratitude of his country." [39]

George Jones had originally been appointed to his judgeship to fill a vacancy of a few months before the legislature should meet. When that body met in early November 1804, it chose him for a three-year term; but he did not serve his full time, for

again his friend and political opponent in the 1801 Congressional election, John Milledge, now governor, appointed him to a higher position than that of superior court judge. Abraham Baldwin, who had been one of the Georgia Senators since 1799, died on March 4, 1807, and George Jones was one of the pall bearers at his interment in Rock Creek Cemetery.[40] To fill the short time before the legislature would meet in early November, Governor Milledge appointed Judge Jones. Senator Jones took his seat on the first day of the first session of the Tenth Congress, which was October 26, 1807, again confirming his reputation for punctuality. He served for slightly more than a month, for when the Georgia legislature met in early November it proceeded to elect William H. Crawford, by a vote of 59 to 27. Though Crawford's later career was to far outshine Jones's, at this time Jones was ahead of Crawford both in eminence and in years; but it was not for nothing that Crawford had been a member of the Georgia legislature for the past four years and was deep in the mysteries of the James Jackson political machine, which then dominated Georgia politics. So Senator Crawford now appeared in Washington and took his seat on December 9.[41]

George Jones's career as an officeholder extended over a period of twenty-nine years, beginning with the state treasurership in 1786, when he was only twenty years old and ending with a term on the inferior court in 1817, when he was fifty-one years of age. He lived until he was seventy-two. Though his name was mentioned for office or delegate to official conventions, he never served thereafter.[42] Most of the offices he held were appointive; as previously noted, he held none by popular vote beyond the gift of the citizens of Savannah and Chatham County. He was in no sense a politician, practicing the tricks of that trade. His retiring nature brought his full worth to the attention only of those who knew him personally.

CHAPTER XIII

George Jones, Conservative Leader, Businessman, and Planter

THOUGH Jones had political ambitions they did not dominate his life; he was not a professional officeholder and out of the various offices he filled he did not continue in any one of them sufficiently long to become identified as senator, mayor, or judge. The position he held longest was superior court judge, which he occupied for only three years. During almost the last quarter century of his life he held no political office. Jones's fame and usefulness did not, therefore, lie in the offices he held, but rather in his ever willingness to lend his efforts as a private citizen in promoting the well-being of his state and its people.

Having a certain graceful dignity and affability, which had characterized his father, he could always be depended upon to preside at meetings when called upon and to play a prominent part in welcoming distinguished visitors or celebrating important occasions. The celebration of the Fourth of July had become classic in Savannah as well as widely over the United States. It called for speeches, marching of the militia, the firing of cannon, and an "elegant repast," at which many toasts were offered to the heroes of the Revolution, present, absent, and gone forever, as well as to favorite leaders who had come before or after the Revolutionary era. About a month before the Glorious Fourth, it was the custom to hold a preliminary meeting to make plans. George Jones, who had suffered the rigors of a British prison ship, was frequently called upon to play a prominent part in these celebrations. In 1812, Jones presided at the pre-

liminary meeting in June and later he was chosen to preside at the celebration itself.[1]

Just as George Jones's father Noble Wimberly had aided in welcoming Washington to Savannah, so George played a prominent part in receiving Washington's great friend Lafayette. The greatest emotional outpourings of patriotic fervor in American history took place in 1824 and 1825 when Lafayette visited the land he had helped to make independent. He reached Savannah by boat up the river from South Carolina on Saturday, March 19, 1825 and stayed until the following Monday. At a preliminary meeting of citizens to plan for the General's reception, Jones presided and at this meeting he was made chairman of the reception committee. Lafayette was to be the guest of the state from the moment he arrived at Savannah until he should cross the line into Alabama. Governor George M. Troup came to Savannah for the initial welcome and in addition to the militia of Savannah and Chatham County, several companies came from other parts of the state to engage in the festivities. Even a person of distinguished family came up from Florida, Achille Marat, the son of Joachim Marat, the ex-King of Naples. Early on the morning of the nineteenth, the troops were aroused by a false alarm that the steamer bringing Lafayette up the river was about to arrive. They hurried to their appointed place on the banks of the river and there they waited impatiently for the General until finally at 3 o'clock in the afternoon the vessel arrived. Amidst the booming of artillery on shore and the answer to the salute by both cannon and music on the ship, George Jones came aboard at Fort Jackson and addressed the General with appropriate greetings, telling him that this was the spot where General Oglethorpe had originally landed on the shores of Georgia. A banquet of state was held in the evening at 7 o'clock with Jones as chief assistant to the Mayor and Governor Troup. Toasts were appropriately offered to the great heroes of the Revolution, but Jones offered his to "The Memory of Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia." Before Lafayette departed for Augusta, he took part in laying the cornerstones of

the monuments to General Nathanael Greene and Count Casimir Pulaski.[2]

Jones's toast to Oglethorpe was evidence of his great respect for the historical traditions of the state, with which his ancestry was closely tied. As the year 1833 approached, he must have been proud that now Georgia was a hundred years old and he would be there to help honor the occasion. As the actual birthday, reckoned by the New Style calendar, was February 12, it behooved the people of Savannah to begin early in the year making preparations for the celebration. So a month and more before the time, Jones presided at a meeting to lay plans. It was decided that Matthew Hall McAllister would deliver an oration and that Robert M. Charlton would read an ode of his own composition. It needed no original thought for much of the remainder of the festivities—the pealing of church bells, the slow procession of the various elements of the population lined up according to rigid rules of their importance, the marching of troops, and, of course, the booming of salutes by the Chatham Artillery. The descendants of Oglethorpe's original settlers were given a blanket invitation to be on hand with much evidence of their presence. The interpretation of "original settlers" was probably not so rigid as to include only those who came over on the first ship; but certainly the descendants of those of the ship *Anne* must have felt that they deserved first place. There were at least two families of prominence who came within this classification, the Joneses and the Milledges. The Habershams came over later, but within the Oglethorpe period. The celebration took place "in a becoming and spirited manner," according to plans, and the Chatham Artillery, on the spot where Oglethorpe had landed, fired a 100-gun salute from the two cannon, captured at Yorktown, a present from General Washington.[3]

Political, patriotic, and cultural interests came naturally to George Jones, inheritances from his father and grandfather; his interest in the economic upbuilding of the state and incidentally of himself, was more his own contribution to family history and traditions. Georgia was growing fast following the

Revolution and on down into the nineteenth century. People were flocking in from the other states, new counties were being formed, cotton plantations were springing up, the Indians were being pushed out to make more room for more people to raise more cotton on more plantations. To tie together these various forces and to integrate them economically as well as otherwise, it was necessary for people to move around at least within limits as far as the distance to the county courthouse, or to the state-house, or to the country church, or to the educational academy; and it was even more necessary for the people to get their products to market. Transportation, therefore, became the great underlying force necessary for building up the state. Apart from improving navigation on the rivers and laying out rudimentary roads, which were the original transportation developments in the state, the means for making it easy to get about which seized the attention of the people most were first canals and then railroads.

Savannah was the state's chief seaport and it hoped to grow great and prosper in at least the same proportion as the state did. But being near the mouth of only one river and that on the edge of the state, it could scarcely hope to drain the commerce of the great growing interior. In an attempt to remedy this, George Jones and a dozen and more associates decided to ask the legislature to charter them as a company empowered to dig a canal and charge tolls on it, linking the Savannah River with the Ogeechee, a river throughout its length paralleling the Savannah all the way to the ocean. This company was chartered in 1818 under the cumbersome name of "The Company for the Inland Navigation from the Ogeechee to Savannah River." [4] Probably from the lack of money, this company never constructed the canal, and it seems to have become moribund if not dead by 1824; for it was this year that the legislature, without even referring to the previous charter, gave Ebenezer Jencks the right to dig such a canal.[5] It soon became evident to Jencks and others that if it was logical to dig a canal from the Savannah to the Ogeechee, it would be even more logical to continue the canal on to the Altamaha River, which drained the great in-

terior of the state but which emptied into the sea at a point farther down the coast and even more inaccessible to Savannah than the mouth of the Ogeechee. A canal would remedy all this. Obligingly the legislature the next year gave Jencks this additional right and agreed to lend him $50,000 "to assist him in opening said canal." [6] Now, in all these activities George Jones was as much interested as was Ebenezer Jencks. The task was to secure enough subscribers to this undertaking to go forward with the work. In March 1826 George Jones presided at a meeting in Savannah to promote the work of organizing a canal company, for Jencks as an individual soon saw that with all his valuable rights got from the legislature he could not dig the canal.[7] So, he soon transferred all his rights and interests to a company called "The Savannah, Ogeechee, and Altamaha Canal Company," which received a charter in its own name on December 26, 1826.[8] The canal was finally completed as far as the Ogeechee River in 1831, but it was not a success. It was never extended on to the Altamaha.[9]

It was by this time evident to George Jones and most other Georgians that canals could not solve Georgia's transportation needs. Thomas Spalding long ago had come to this conclusion and had as early as 1825 sought a charter for a railroad, but the legislature refused to grant it. But he persisted and in 1827 he received a charter to cut a canal or build a railroad from the Ogeechee River to the Flint River. But there were no railroads in America at this time and some people did not believe they were possible. Fear and enthusiasm were aroused in Georgia when in early October 1833 the Charleston and Hamburg Railroad was finished and trains began to run from Hamburg (across the Savannah from Augusta) to Charleston. This road might easily drain off to the South Carolina seaport all the commerce of the upper Savannah River valley and bring decay to the city of Savannah. In that month George Jones and a dozen or more leaders in Savannah issued a call for a meeting to consider "the propriety of adopting measures to facilitate the communication between this City, Macon and Columbus." [10] To agitate the matter further a committee of seven was set up with Jones as a

member.[11] Action was immediate; the next session of the legislature chartered, December 20, 1833 "The Central Rail-Road and Canal Company of Georgia," and gave it permission to construct to Macon either a railroad or canal.[12]

Jones would not live to see completed the railroad to Macon (in 1843), but he was much interested in extending railroad connections from Macon onward in all directions. In November of 1836 a great railroad convention was held in Macon to go into these very matters. To receive the report of the Savannah delegates to this convention, Jones in the following early December presided over a meeting in Savannah. Among the recommendations was a road to begin on the banks of the Chattahoochee in DeKalb County and continue northward to the Tennessee River.[13] The legislature at its next session decided on the construction of such a road at state expense, to be called the "Western and Atlantic Rail Road of the State of Georgia." [14] Authorized on December 21, 1836, the road was completed in 1851 and it remains to this day the property of the state. George Jones was one of those Georgia leaders with a vision of transportation developments which he hoped would make the state the Southern rival of the state of New York in the North, in draining off from the Middle West the enriching commerce of that region.

Had this dream of George Jones, John C. Calhoun, and of many other Southerners come true, then Savannah (or Charleston) might have become the New York City of the South, and maybe there would never have been a civil war between North and South. Of course Jones's choice of the great Southern metropolis was Savannah, as he had early been working for it in a modest way with his canal interests. And when in 1828 there was talk in Washington of erecting a navy yard somewhere on the South Atlantic coast, Jones presided over a meeting in Savannah memorializing Congress to choose that city as the location.[15]

A fever equal to that produced by internal improvements (steamboats, canals, and railroads) grew up around banks, and during the same period. Banks properly managed were necessary for any economy which should get beyond the barter stage; but it took a long time for Georgians to decide whether banks

were good or bad. At this time it seems that the majority of Georgians decided that some banks were good and others bad. Good banks were those which loaned money easily and were not too insistent on having it returned; bad banks were those or more particularly a certain one which exacted the pound of flesh which the law allowed and through various means forced other banks to employ sound principles in their operation. The one bank in Georgia which was always considered bad was the Branch Bank of the Bank of the United States, located in Savannah, and chartered by the Congress of the United States. George Jones was closely associated with this bank and for many years was one of its directors.[16]

A person of Jones's standing and outlook on the life and times of his generation could hardly be otherwise than conservative in both thought and action. Despite the part he and his father took in the Revolution, conservatism had been and would continue to be a family trait; and a representative of the fourth generation, yet to come, would find one of his greatest pleasures of life in looking back with soothing satisfaction on his great-grandfather Noble Jones, Loyalist, rather than on his grandfather Noble Wimberly Jones, Revolutionist. But there had been no great gulf between the Loyalist and the Revolutionist, for apart from the question of who should be ultimate sovereign in governmental matters in Georgia, both were in agreement in all other matters that make up civilization. And this held true for the mass of Loyalists and Revolutionists of the American scene.

George Jones was somewhat an individualist in politics; in wearing any party label he did not thereby abdicate all human reason and his conscience into the keeping of a party machine which wrote out party platforms. He acted with that party which came nearest to agreeing with his own principles. In the early days he chose to act with the party of James Jackson, William H. Crawford, and George M. Troup, which took on the name of the Troup Party in opposition to the Clark Party of small farmers, frontiersmen, and upcountry men in general. He was, of course, a Jeffersonian in national outlook. After 1815, when

he practically ceased running for any office and certainly was elected to none, the barometer which measured his politics was the honoree of the great political dinner at which he might be presiding.

In early January 1826 William H. Crawford, defeated in the presidential election of 1824–1825, dispirited, and ailing, was honored at a dinner in Savannah. George Jones was one of the vice presidents of the occasion, and offered a toast to the memory of General Nathanael Greene.[17] Here Jones was helping primarily to honor a living man who had gone far in national politics and had largely by bad luck failed of being elected President of the United States. He was the man who had defeated Jones for the United States Senate in 1807, when both were young in politics.

In early May 1831 George Jones presided at a dinner in Savannah in honor of John M. Berrien, Attorney-General in Andrew Jackson's cabinet, who was on the eve of leaving it. Jones offered his toast in honor of the guest: "We venerate and respect him for the qualities of mind and head, which as a judge, citizen and man, he has exhibited." [18] There was less politics in this meeting than respect to a distinguished fellow-citizen; but within a short time Berrien would be in Jones's political camp. Extremism was abroad in the land, ranging largely around issues brought forth by the controversy over the tariff, and within a few years there would be an end of the old political party alignments, and names too, state and national, and a reshuffling to bring individual voters more in line with what was their faith in fundamental issues relating to the powers of the state and the nation.

Soon Calhoun, whom Jackson had come to loathe, was attempting to apply his remedy for a high protective tariff by nullifying it; and Jackson was using the other extreme by threatening bloody war against nullifiers. George Jones and many of his fellows could support neither of these remedies, and drew forth the praise of a commentator on the national scene who declared them to be "republicans of the old school and men of great influence," standing "firmly on the ramparts, resolved to

risk every thing in the defense of Constitutional Union." They represented "State Rights without Nullification and Union without Consolidation," resisting the spread of the "disorganizing doctrines of John C. Calhoun & Co." [19] In February 1834, the year after the great flare-up of nullification in South Carolina had come and gone, with not a great deal of honor to either Calhoun for promoting it or Jackson for stopping it, Jones presided in Savannah over a "Great Union Meeting," which protested nullification doctrines as dangerous and likely to lead to civil war.[20] A week later, Jones presided at another meeting in the same city, designed to condemn President Jackson for his high-handed action in "removing" the deposits from the United States Bank, with which he had been feuding for some years. His action was, in reality, to hire and fire secretaries of the treasury until he could find one who would obey his orders to deposit no more public monies in the Bank. The memorial to Congress deprecating the President's action as hurting business and reducing the price of cotton by at least a third, presented to this meeting for adoption, was, contrary to expectations, rejected by a vote of 111 to 91.[21]

Jackson's administration smashed the Republican Party of Jefferson and out of the fragments coalesced the Jacksonian Democrats and the Whigs. In Georgia the voters soon forgot the Troup and Clark parties, and in their stead came a grouping and rearranging that resulted first in the State Rights Party and the Union Party, and later their coalescence into the Whig and Democratic parties, respectively. But there was no perfect coincidence, for the Union principle called forth by Jackson's support of a union pure and undefiled, later developed into such extreme state rights as to lead to secession in 1860–1861; and the Whig Party before its final dissolution in the 1850s came to be the chief keeper of the Union tradition.

George Jones and many others who were in agreement with him saw clearly what he stood for and wanted. He did not align himself with the State Rights Association as the incipient Whigs of Georgia called themselves, but he helped to promote the "Union and State Rights Association," which showed its colors

in its name and he became its president and continued so until almost the time of his death in 1838.[22] This Association at its Fourth of July celebration in Savannah in 1834, offered the following toast to Jones: "The President of our Association; George Jones, Esq. although absent from our festival, present in our affections; too good a republican not to be a Union man." [23]

Like his father, George Jones had deep humanitarian instincts and he was not slow in letting them assert themselves, but not through any public display. Just as his father had been a member of the Union Society and had been elected president of it several times, so the son. George Jones became a member in 1794 and apparently continued so for the rest of his life. He was its vice president in 1797 and for the two succeeding years he was president.[24] As has been noted, there was another organization near Savannah which had long been engaged in the education of orphan children much more extensively than the Union Society. It was the Bethesda Orphan School or more frequently called the Bethesda College. It had been founded in early colonial times by George Whitefield and James Habersham. To continue the work of the institution, Whitefield had in his late life left in trust the institution and its various endowments to Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, a resident of England. In 1791 an important change was made. As the continuation of this trust during the Revolution was impossible and as the Countess was now dead and her heirs, being foreigners, were incapable of receiving and executing the trust, the legislature vested it in George Jones and twelve other trustees. The purpose was to remain the same.[25] In 1804 the legislature authorized the trustees to dispose of 2,000 acres of the Bethesda endowment [26] and four years later it provided for the sale of the entire property, as at this time the institution was in a state of prostration because of a fire which had destroyed one wing of the main structure and a hurricane which had blown away other buildings and salted its rice lands. From the net proceeds of the sale of the property, the Savannah Poor House and Hospital Society received a fifth, and

the remainder was divided equally between the Union Society and the Chatham Academy.[27]

In addition to his serving as trustee of the Bethesda College, Jones had, as already noted, showed his interest in education and literary developments by inserting the clause in the Constitution of 1798 relating to the establishment of "seminaries of learning," and in 1809 he was one of a group of citizens of Savannah who revived the Savannah Library Society. This society had originally been organized in 1775, as the successor to a Georgia Library Society, which was in existence in the 1760s.[28]

Poor and unfortunate people always found warm support in George Jones, whether in educating them or administering to their physical needs and ailments. And he, like many of his fellow-citizens throughout the South, but especially in Savannah, was broad enough in his humanitarian feelings to include all of God's children, white or black. In 1816 Thomas F. Williams, a citizen of Savannah, made his will and departed this life the same year. He left a considerable sum of money to be placed at interest for twelve and a half years and he directed that at the end of that time the whole amount be used to establish an institution "for the Relief & Protection of afflicted and aged Africans." [29] In February of the following year George Jones presided in Savannah at a meeting called to discuss the establishment of a hospital and infirmary for Negroes.[30] Nothing came of Jones's meeting, which might have been suggested by the Williams will or designed to further its purpose, but there was no such institution in America at that time and this was truly a pioneering move in this field. Williams's will resulted in the establishment in 1832 of the "Georgia Infirmary for the Relief and Protection of Aged and Afflicted Negroes," the first organization of its kind in America.[31]

In 1820 a great fire consumed a large part of Savannah, reputed to be the most disastrous conflagration suffered by any American city up to that time. George Jones sustained considerable losses of buildings burned, but his own misfortune seemed to be of less concern to him than the pitiable plight of many of the poor

of the city, white and colored. He immediately became chairman of a committee appointed to raise funds for the relief of the unfortunate poor.[32]

It was unfortunate to be poor then as even now, but it was also unfortunate to be rich or prominent then in one respect which is no longer true now. But George Jones had a passion to help the unfortunate, poor or rich, and it was for that reason that he came to be much interested in outlawing and abolishing the gentlemanly custom of duelling. Many a gentleman, unfortunate for being prominent, was forced into a murderous contest at pistols, brought on by a challenger who felt that his honor could be protected in no other way. Public sentiment forced the challenged to accept. There had long been a strong feeling in Georgia that duelling should be stopped, and in 1809 a beginning had been made by a law which held that anyone who fought a duel or promoted one should thereafter be incapable of holding any office of honor, trust, or profit in the state.[33] But duelling was wider spread than merely among office-holders and officeseekers and it was to reach this other class as well as to increase the punishment against all duellists that Jones and his Savannah supporters organized the Savannah Anti-Duelling Association. Jones presided at a meeting on the day after Christmas of 1826, which decided to hold another meeting on New Year's Day to complete the organization by adopting a constitution and electing officers. Jones was elected president and was re-elected year after year at the annual meetings. Each year a prominent speaker was selected to orate against the evils of duelling, and the Association offered annually a prize of $50 for the best essay against duelling. It also set up a standing committee of seven to act as mediators in all quarrels that might tend toward a duel or to intercede if a duel was in the process of being organized.[34] It functioned efficiently for some years.

It seems that the law of 1809 had remained as if it had never existed, as a duellist under this law had committed no crime and the oath of office took no note of duelling. But the Penal Code of 1816 provided that anyone convicted of engaging in a duel or promoting one in any manner should be fined an

amount not exceeding $500 and imprisoned in the county jail or on the recommendation of the jury be sent to the penitentiary for a period of from three months to a year.[35] The Penal Code of 1817 required all civil and military officers to take an oath effective after July 1, 1818 that they had not fought a duel since that time or aided in one in any fashion.[36] Finally in 1832 the oath against duelling was repealed, and those convicted of engaging in a duel or aiding and abetting duellists were made subject to imprisonment in the penitentiary from four to eight years; [37] the Penal Code of 1833 reduced the punishment to a fine and jail sentence, but on the recommendation of a jury a penitentiary sentence might be imposed for a term of not more than two years.[38] The harshness of the law of 1832 was no doubt the result of sentiment stirred up against duelling by Jones and his associates, and certainly the heyday of duelling in Georgia had passed by the time Jones and the Savannah Anti-Duelling Association had put in ten years of agitation against it.

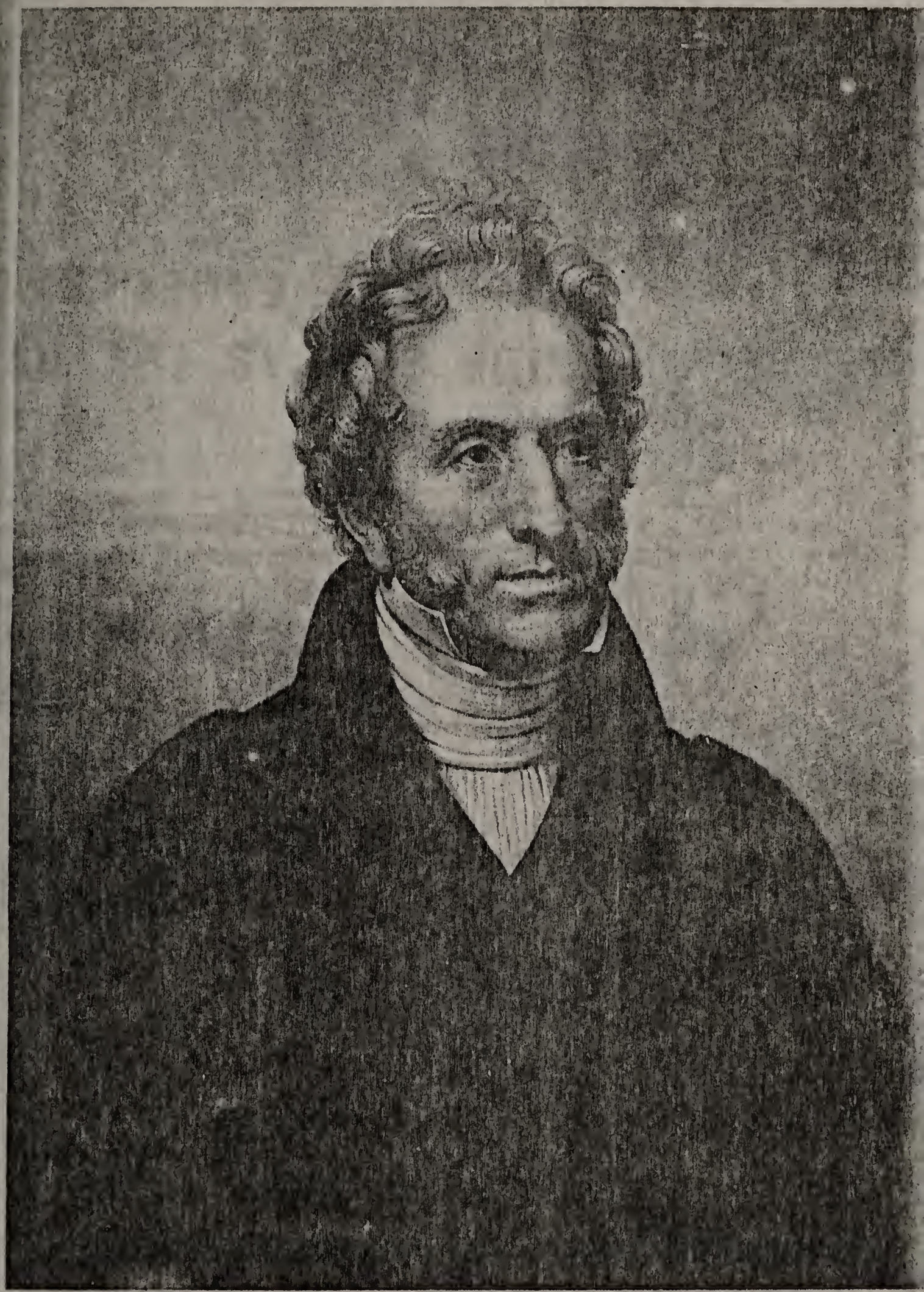
Ready to promote anything for the good of his state and for its people or for his own self, George Jones perforce was a good churchman. His religion like many of his characteristics he had inherited. His family had been Anglican and then Episcopalian from time out of mind. So naturally he became a member of Christ Church as his father and grandfather before him had been. Generally a vestryman or warden, he was interested in the advancement of his own congregation as well as the church in its broader field.[39] In 1823 he attended the Episcopal Convention in Philadelphia and during its ten-day session took an active part in its deliberations.[40] Also he was an active Mason and at one time or another he was grand treasurer, junior grand warden, and deputy grand master.[41]

Urbanity and culture, so much associated with city life in later times, were in the age of George Jones adornments shining in greater brilliance in the lives of country gentlemen—the aristocratic planters who had their town houses but who had their greatest enjoyment in living in their plantation homes. So, planting must be added to Jones's activities in promoting canals, railroads, banks, and in holding public office.

He inherited Wormsloe with its hundreds of acres, but this was to become only a small part of his landed estate at the time of his death. Between 1789 and 1795 he bought three tracts a few miles from Savannah, amounting to almost 600 acres, which he combined into his favorite Newton Plantation. In 1812 he bought from his mother and other heirs 450 acres which became known as Poplar Grove. He acquired another plantation called Dean Forest, containing a thousand acres, and he came into the possession of Lambeth Plantation, his father's old home. Up in Jefferson County he owned three plantations contiguous to one another, totalling 1,860 acres. He owned 1,000 acres in Franklin County, probably not reduced to farming land, and 202½ acres in Carroll County, which he had drawn in the Land Lottery. He was also successful in drawing a lot in one of the Gold Lotteries. He owned eight other tracts of land ranging from 56 acres to 600, most of them in Chatham County. He owned five lots in Savannah, a five-acre lot on the Isle of Hope, a wharf, store, and residence in Savannah.[42] Poplar Grove was his principal plantation, where he kept most of his slaves.

At the time of his death, his estate was appraised at $123,188.75. Of this amount his 137 slaves were reckoned to be worth $55,561, from Old Brutus listed at $1 through Shropsher at $750 to Palmer worth $1,000. His plantation equipment was what would be expected: cotton gins, cotton presses, wagons, spades, axes, horses, mules, oxen, 44 head of cattle, 50 sheep; various supplies of farm products on hand, as potatoes, peas, corn, cotton, rice; a great quantity and variety of household furnishings, fine mahogany furniture, Brussels carpets and rugs, piano, kitchen utensils—960 items filling five pages of foolscap paper; and various stocks and bonds (bank, railroad, insurance, governmental).[43]

The crops which he specialized in for sale were cotton (sea island on his coastal plantations) and rice.[44] He raised mostly sea island cotton on his Wormsloe Plantation. In 1821 one of his wagons loaded with upland cotton from his Jefferson County plantations, on its way to Savannah broke through a bridge



From the portrait by Rembrandt Peale.

GEORGE JONES

across a stream and drowned one horse but the driver was able to save himself and the cotton.[45]

Jones had residences prepared for his own occupation on only two of his plantations, Newton and Wormsloe. He made the former his principal country home until it burned in November 1825. This was a great loss, for which he received only $2,000 insurance. Though most of his furniture was saved, some of his finest horses were burned so badly that they had to be killed.[46] He did not rebuild. Seven years afterwards, Robert Habersham wandered through the grounds and wrote a friend in Philadelphia: "Bye the bye I will mention before I forget it, that I rode out with my father to Dr. Jones' Country place day before yesterday and was delighted with a solitary walk I had there. It was through a beautiful Oak Wood that had also some majestic Laurel trees in it larger than any I have ever seen. It was very shady, cool and refreshing, and I was excessively pleased with it. The place itself looked very handsome, and it is a thousand pities that there is no house there. I walked through the courtyard & garden, but they were filled with weeds. The dairy & out houses, the garden, the trees were the same I suppose as when the house was burnt." [47]

Thereafter Jones made Wormsloe his country place. At the time of his death he had twenty slaves there for work in the fields and five household servants, by name Made, Jim, Die, Ben, and Clarinda. Jones never lived in Wormsloe long enough at a time to make it seem like a permanent home, and for some years he did not maintain a regular home in Savannah; for during the latter part of his life he visited much in the North, and merely rented a house in Savannah when he returned each year, unless he should decide to spend a while out at Wormsloe. For instance before his return from the North in 1831 he had a friend house-hunting for him in Savannah, and in 1834 he gave explicit directions to his grandson about making arrangements for his return to Savannah. He was to ride out to Poplar Grove and find out if certain furnishings which had been left there had later been taken to Wormsloe, and if so, he was to have the wagon

sent out to Wormsloe to bring them to his town house. Also he wanted sent from Poplar Grove some wood, fodder, potatoes, and grits. Then, the grandson should have the overseer at Newton Plantation send a servant to prepare the carriage house in town and to meet the boat at the wharf, which was bringing from Charleston on his way back from the North him and his family and his horses and carriage. He had traveled by land from Philadelphia to Charleston.[48]

George Jones liked fine horses. He liked to ride them as well as to travel in carriages pulled by prancing thoroughbreds. As a judge he had ridden his circuit both on horseback and in a carriage, and on the many trips he made to Philadelphia he went mostly by land, using his own equipment. He now and then had for sale fine saddle horses and coaches with elegant spans of carriage horses. In 1831 he advertised: "For Sale. An elegant pair of bay horses about 15 hands and a half high. Also, a pair about 16 hands high—both pair northern bred and gentle. Enquire of George Jones." [49]

George Jones was married three times and thereby acquired family connections which gave him a position little less than that of the head of a tribe or clan; and he enjoyed this distinction, which he wore well. In all his marriages he showed good taste, a proper regard for his own social position, and perhaps some consideration for what his wife could bring the union besides her charm and her own social standing. First, in 1785, he married "the most amiable Miss Mary Gibbons, daughter of the late William Gibbons, Esq. a young lady endowed with every accomplishment that can make the marriage state truly happy." [50] The first child was a boy, and naturally, it was named George, but it died in infancy. It was equally to be expected that if the next were a boy it would be given the name Noble Wimberly, and so Noble Wimberly it was, born January 2, 1787. A number of other children were born to this union, but all died young, except Sarah Gibbons, who, born in 1789, married Alfred Cuthbert [51] and lived until July 12, 1834. The last of the children of this union were twins, who died the year of their birth, 1792, and soon the mother followed.

In 1795, George Jones married a second time, Mrs. Macartan Campbell, now a widow, who had been Sarah Fenwick of Charleston. The first child of this union was a boy, and again did George Jones attempt to perpetuate his name in a son, but this child also died in infancy. The next child, a girl named Catherine, also died in infancy, and as was so tragically true in those times, so in this case mother and child passed on together. But by her first husband, Macartan Campbell, she had borne four children, Maria, who married Dr. Lemuel Kollock, Edward Fenwick, Harriet Tattnall, and Sarah. In the course of time George Jones's son Noble Wimberly married Sarah, his step-sister, but who was, of course, no blood kin. All these marriages brought into the George Jones clan, the Kollocks, who had many family connections in New England, the various Campbell connections in Augusta, the Fenwick connections in Charleston, and tied doubly into the tribe the Noble Wimberly Jones family.[52]

George Jones liked travel, and before he settled down to marry a third time and confine his wanderings inside the United States, he made a trip to Europe in 1810, going to Sweden and most of the other countries of western Europe.[53] Philadelphia soon came into the family interests again, it being recalled that George's father Noble Wimberly Jones had formerly for a time practiced medicine there and had represented Georgia in the Continental Congress there. George's son Noble Wimberly, who as a lad had gone to school in the North, became later a resident of Philadelphia, and on his death in 1818 his widow, who for some reason violently disliked Savannah, continued to reside there. So George Jones was drawn on frequent occasions to visit his son and family in Philadelphia, and his interest in visiting there was soon heightened by an affair of the heart. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Thomas Smith, a man of wealth and distinction, who had many years previously served in the Continental Congress there in the same sessions with George Jones's father Noble Wimberly Jones, had an accomplished daughter Eliza.[54] On September 17, 1822 George Jones wrote to his step-son-in-law that when he should

return to Savannah next he would be bringing along and would introduce to him "by my name, a lady with whom you have some acquaintance." [55] One of the Kollock boys remarked, "I was much surprised to hear of Grandpapa's marriage; I am glad however, that he made such a fortunate choice." [56]

Soon George Jones was back in Savannah, bringing with him his third wife; but though he considered Savannah (or one of his plantations) his home, he now had a doubly good reason for visiting in Philadelphia. Practically every summer until the end of his life, he and his family visited Philadelphia and other Northern cities, enjoying the society of their numerous kin, blood and by marriage, scattered over the North—Philadephia, New England, New Jersey, either residing there or off at school. Although now and then they "encountered the perils of the wide deep," [57] they traveled most frequently by carriage overland. This mode of travel gave them the leisure they liked and made it possible for them to stop along the way to spend time at some watering place, as at the Sulphur Springs in Virginia in 1830, to visit kin and acquaintances, and to enjoy the scenery. But it also had its perils and inconveniences, as roads were rough and badly marked if at all, and streams were unbridged. Now and then they were delayed by high water and by the sickness of the children. The Joneses extended their summer vacations much longer than was the usual custom of Southerners on their visits to the North. Frequently he was not back in Savannah before November or December, and at least once they spent Christmas in Philadelphia.[58]

There were two children born to George and Eliza Jones. Contrary to the first birth in previous marriages, in this instance a girl was born. She came in 1823 and was named Letitia. She lived for only twenty years. The next child was a boy, and, of course, he was named George. But he was also given two other names, Frederick Tilghman. He was the only son to survive his father, and would, according to long-standing custom, become the master of Wormsloe.

Having outlived two wives, George Jones would not succeed

in surviving a third. For some years before his death, he was not in robust health; he took colds easily, and was greatly enervated by them. In the summer of 1834 he was in Philadelphia, greatly worn down by his trip from the South. Hoping to go on to a watering place he was by July still unable to travel. He was "very feeble and looks badly." [59] Later in the summer he went to Ballston Spa, a few miles from Saratoga Springs, and he was there when news of the death of his daughter Mrs. Cuthbert reached him. His family was almost afraid to break the news to him because it would be a terrible blow.[60] In the summer of 1837, the year before his death, he was much indisposed. He spent a long time at Bordentown, New Jersey, where a grandson was in school. Before returning to Philadelphia he spent a few weeks at Long Branch for the sea air, which seemed to help him. The next year on November 13, he died and was buried "from his late residence at the corner of South Broad and Bull Streets [Savannah]." [61]

George Jones was somewhat slight of build with sharp features, high forehead, trim well-formed nose, clear eyes, firm mouth, and prominent chin, and though pleasant to look at, his was not that kindly benign Thomas-Jefferson-countenance that characterized his father. As Charles Willson Peale had painted a portrait of Noble Wimberly Jones, so his son Rembrandt painted a portrait of Noble Wimberly's son, no doubt done at some time when George Jones was in Philadelphia.[62]

George Jones had worthily carried on through the third generation the best traditions of the Jones family in America. Additional support to the picture of the man which the details of his life and character in this narrative have given may be seen in this advice which he gave to a grandson who was struggling with the mysteries of the schoolmaster's tasks at Harvard University: "Without industry you cannot acquire knowledge, and without knowledge and virtue you will never be respectable." [63] And this characterization from resolutions passed by the Savannah bar the day after his death was no exaggeration of the man's place in the affections of his neighbors: "He was amiable,

philanthropic, considerate, firm, forbearing, delicate in his intercourse with society. He had a modesty in speech and manner, at all times and to all persons, worthy of remembrance and imitation, and to these graces were added the belief and humility of a Christian." [64]

CHAPTER XIV

George Wymberley Jones De Renne, Bibliophile and Philanthropist

GEORGE FREDERICK TILGHMAN JONES was destined to do much for the family, coming as he did in its fourth generation in America. He would change the name of his branch of the family, he would die the youngest of the masters of Wormsloe up to his time, and he would greatly increase the family fortune. He would change Wormslow to Wormsloe and Wimberly to Wymberley. Also he would change the family interests from politics into a love of books and history and "ye olden times" of Noble Jones and even of "Merrie England." George Frederick Tilghman Jones nor any of his descendants, with one minor exception, ever held a public office.

He made another contribution, which might more properly be called a revival. He clothed Wormsloe with a halo of tradition and made of it a family seat to be cherished and lived in. Not since the days of Noble Jones and his daughter Mary had Wormsloe been little more than an occasional residence of its masters. Noble Wimberly Jones had made Lambeth his country seat, and George Jones had chosen Newton as his favorite until it burned, though both had had residences in Savannah. And for that matter George Frederick Tilghman Jones also would maintain a residence in Savannah, but he loved Wormsloe as none had done since Noble Jones.

George Jones had willed Wormsloe to his wife Eliza "for and during her life or widowhood, for her use and benefit, and after her decease or marriage, which shall first happen," it should then go to his son George Frederick Tilghman, his heirs and assigns

George Washington Jones: Dr. Evans, bibliophile and collaborator

forever, and repeating the sentiments of his grandfather Noble, "it being my wish that the same be kept in a state of repair, and be and remain in the name and family." [1] After the burning of his plantation home at Newton, George Jones had lived at Wormsloe when he was not residing in Savannah or on his customary summer visits in the North. During these occasional residences at Wormsloe, young George Frederick Tilghman had enjoyed the great live oaks and the wild beauty of the estate until he was eleven, when his father had died.

So, when later he came to reside at Wormsloe again he had the vivid memories of a child to help endear the place to him. His mother died in 1857, and thereafter, since the title rested in him, he could plan with a freer hand. He tamed somewhat its wildland beauty by adding cedars of Lebanon, deodars, Irish yew, and in his latter years he enlarged the gardens, planted some camellias, and added an avenue of oaks from the house to the gate on the road to Savannah. To restore the estate as much as possible like it was in the times of Noble Jones, he bought back most of the Wimberly tract, which Noble Wimberly Jones had given to his daughter Sarah and increased its acreage to 850. Also he bought Long Island, which Inigo Jones had once owned.

Soon after the death of George Jones, his widow and her two children, Letitia and George Frederick Tilghman, moved to Philadelphia, her old home, where she felt that she could best educate her children. For some years now, only occasionally did the Joneses return to Georgia, as schooling took up the fall, winter, and spring months, and vacationing in Georgia in the hot summer was an unusual procedure. It was only natural that when George Frederick Tilghman was prepared, he would enter the University of Pennsylvania, because it was in the city of Philadelphia and a great-uncle had been the first provost of the University. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1845, the first of the Jones family in America to bear that distinction, and soon thereafter he entered the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania and received his medical diploma in April 1848. In the following July he received the Master of Arts degree, an honorary degree at this time. He was the fourth gen-

eration to be trained for the profession of physician, but engaged in medical practice much less than his father did, if, indeed, at all.[2]

For some little time now, it seems that George Frederick Tilghman Jones was having difficulty finding himself or even determining the name by which he chose to be called. But one fact is outstanding: His interests were becoming highly literary and he soon discovered that. But it took him almost two decades to decide finally what his name was. As has been true before and afterwards to the chagrin of interested people, there is much confusion when there are two persons with the same name—and especially so when the two are contemporary. It happened that at this time there were two George Joneses, true enough one being George Frederick Tilghman Jones and the other George Noble Jones, uncle and nephew, respectively, but each often called simply George Jones. The nephew, being 16 years older than the uncle, had established his name as the outstanding one among the populace. Hence to prevent confusion and rivalry, George Frederick Tilghman Jones, about 1847, when he was twenty years old, dropped the Frederick Tilghman and added Wymberley from his grandfather's name, slightly changing the spelling from Wimberly to Wymberley, and used the initial instead of George. He now signed himself as G. Wymberley Jones. But on reflection, to suppress George into G. did not seem to do proper honor to his father, George Jones, who had striven so hard to have a George Jones succeed him. So, by 1850 he had hit on a new scheme of things. He would now hyphenate his family name into Wymberley-Jones and restore the G. into George. He now signed himself George Wymberley-Jones.

This name seems to have satisfied him reasonably well, but apparently not entirely, for years later, he decided on an entirely new family name—De Renne. One may play with given names without let or hindrance from the law, but to change a family name requires legal action. So, the Superior Court of Chatham County was appealed to, and on January 12, 1866 it approved the change. The name De Renne was not entirely an invention; rather it was an improvisation of Van Deren, which was the

family name of his grandmother before her marriage.[3] Hereafter he would sign himself G. W. J. De Renne.[4]

While George Wymberley-Jones was wrestling with his name, he was otherwise finding himself. As has been suggested, he became interested in books, collecting them, writing them, and publishing them. His first work, though modest in size and signed George Wymberley-Jones, was published in 1847, when he was only twenty years old. He called it *Theory Concerning the Nature of Insanity*. Containing 38 pages, it was printed at Philadelphia in an edition of only forty-eight copies and cost only $30, but he published it at Wormsloe—a salute to the home of his affections.[5] This work was called forth by his study of medicine, and as it was published the year he received his medical diploma it is sometimes erroneously stated that it was his medical thesis. It is a deep, sometimes abstruse, philosophical discussion with a tinge of the physical or material, which amounts in essence to this: The mind, which is the same as spirit or soul, is never diseased, but only the brain can become so, and then it ceases to interpret properly the mind or soul. Insanity, therefore, is produced when the physical brain "displays some morbid condition." He stated his conclusions succinctly: "First—That mind and mental faculties are altogether distinct, and, for aught we know to the contrary, dissimilar; the former being an independent entity, our knowledge of whose existence and attributes is derived exclusively from revelation; while the latter are mere functions of a material substance—the brain, of whose nature they partake.

"Secondly—That insanity is one and the same disease, whatever guise it may assume; and that its most common and recognized forms differ only in degree.

"Lastly—That insanity is not a 'disease of the mind,' but is restricted to that class of cerebral functions which are generally denominated mental faculties." [6]

With one exception, this was the only literary composition of G. W. J. De Renne. Hereafter his literary spirit found expression in the first publication of manuscript documents or the reprinting of rare works, and most of these were brought

out in quarto size, and came to be known as the Wormsloe Quartos, as all were published at Wormsloe, though printed elsewhere. De Renne's purpose in bringing out these rare works was not to spread their contents broadcast, but rather to keep them almost as scarce as they had previously been—for he designed them as gifts to his book-loving friends and to make them scarce was to make them prized.[7]

He began his series of Quartos in 1847, the year he published his work on insanity, with the reprinting of a very scarce pamphlet, so rare, as he said in his preface, "that I have never seen or heard of any other copy than the one in the Philadelphia Library." [8] Its extreme rarity as well as the information it contained led him to reprint it. It was entitled, *Observations upon the Effects of Certain Late Political Suggestions. By the Delegates of Georgia. Printed in the Year 1781.* Rumors had reached the Georgia delegates in the Continental Congress that Georgia and South Carolina might be returned to Great Britain in a bargain for the independence of the other eleven revolted colonies. This pamphlet was an attempt to show the American people the importance Georgia would be to the Union. Georgia's commerce was of great value; its ship-building timber was the best in the country—its live oaks along the coast being unsurpassed. Georgia could produce a vast amount of lumber—sufficient "might be had to rebuild all the towns of the West-Indies, and pitch and tar enough for the fleets of the world." [9] The agricultural resources of the state were vast. Tobacco was beginning to be raised and it was of a better quality than that of Virginia and Maryland, and hemp and cotton grew "in great luxuriance." [10]

De Renne did no editing at all except to omit part of a table of exports. He wrote a short preface. The reprint contains 14 pages and the edition was limited to 21 copies. Here was the beginning of ocular evidence of De Renne's love and reverence for Georgia, though not his native state (he being born in Philadelphia), yet the state of his ancestors and one that he would ever claim as his own.

In 1849 he published the second of his Wormsloe Quartos.

This was a departure from his first, for here was published for the first time part of a manuscript by John Gerar William De Brahm, "His Majesty's Surveyor-General for the Southern District of North America." De Renne had seen this manuscript in the Harvard University Library, and had got permission from President Jared Sparks, an editor and historian of great fame, to publish the part relating to the colony of Georgia. The volume consists of 29 pages and the edition was limited to 49 copies. It is entitled, *History of the Province of Georgia: With Maps of Original Surveys.* De Brahm's work was largely statistical and encyclopaedic, dealing with geography, latitudes and longitudes, climate, distances, but also with some interesting observations on the topography and people. De Renne was remarkably modern in his conception of the duty of an editor reproducing a manuscript, quite different from President Sparks, who refurbished many of the manuscripts which he published, much to the chagrin of modern scholars. Said De Renne, "It is printed with the exactest adherence to the original, as well in the spelling as in the construction of sentences. In both these respects the MS. is occasionally faulty—but with that I have nothing to do: my design being simply to produce the work as it is, not to show how it might have been better. In truth, I am not in anywise willing to correct the uncouthness of a quaint old writer, be his style ever so ungainly. It is like white-washing a ruin." [11] As a step in developing pride of family and ancestry he placed the family coat of arms at the end of the volume beneath this inscription:

This Book hath been Privately Printed:
and the Plates engraved: for the Editor,
George Wymberley-Jones. The
Impression is limited
to forty-nine
Copies.

The same year (1849) De Renne published the only other of his literary compositions, a piece of severe criticism, entitled *Observations on Doctor Stevens's History of Georgia,* with this

line from Don Quixote inscribed on the title page: "What overgrown piece of lumber have we here? cried the curate." It is a brochure of 28 pages, unsigned. The appearance of this pamphlet created a commotion in the Georgia Historical Society, which had asked Stevens to write the history, volume one of which had appeared in 1847, and had promoted it in many ways. At its meeting in April 1848, the Society had appointed a committee on the history to make "examination & that they be requested to submit a report to this Society upon the character & merits of this volume." [12] There is no record of their report, but undoubtedly it was favorable if ever made, for the Society at its next meeting adopted unanimously the following resolution: "Resolved that the members of this Society have seen with regret an anonymous pamphlet recently circulated in this city, entitled 'Observations on Dr. Stevens' History of Georgia,' and as the said pamphlet shows more personal feeling and dislike than fair and allowable criticism, they deem this a proper occasion to renew to Dr. Stevens the expression of the respect and regard which the Society entertain for him, and they do not hesitate to express their opinion that his first volume of the *History of Georgia* as a literary and historical composition and in truthfulness of narrative is a production which does him and the Society credit, and that it is altogether worthy of the confidence and patronage of the People of Georgia." [13] At this very meeting De Renne, who apparently was not present, presented to the Society a copy of his De Brahm's *History of the Province of Georgia,* and the secretary was instructed to thank him for it.

De Renne's attack on Stevens's history and inferentially on Stevens himself was blistering and highly sarcastic, representing outstanding ability of the twenty-two-year-oldster in this style of literary composition. He accused Stevens of ornate, redundant, and irrelevant writing and bad grammar, to say nothing of gross ignorance of his subject in which he made many mistakes of fact. Furthermore Stevens was guilty of "presumptuous egotism." This is an example of De Renne's biting criticism: "Instead of a history, it is a sort of historical patchwork,

in which the pieces about Georgia are rather more numerous than the others. It abounds, too, in errors as to fact, which in the course of our remarks we shall endeavour to expose, and shall not hesitate to rebuke; and is also distinguished for a style so grandiloquent, so preposterous, so pompous, so corrupt, so grotesquely incongruous with the simplicity of the subject, that every attempt we have made to give it serious consideration has ended in a hearty fit of laughter. It is difficult to condemn what is so delightfully absurd. We have a kindness for its very faults —they have afforded us so much merriment. It is too ridiculous for contempt—we laugh and pity." [14] As errors of fact, De Renne pointed out mistakes in dates and some confusion of persons and events—very legitimate criticisms.

De Renne summed up his criticism in these conclusions and brilliantly-expressed advice:

"First.—That he cannot write History.

"Second.—That he cannot write English.

"But we have compassion upon his inexperience; and shall therefore repeat some advice, which he would do well to profit by.

" 'Whenever you have written anything which you think particularly fine—strike it out.'

"Observance of this advice will certainly diminish the bulk of his volumes, and cannot diminish their value." [15]

Why De Renne took such an extreme position on Stevens's history and on Stevens himself still remains a mystery. A perusal of De Renne's criticism leaves no doubt that he had a personal animus against Stevens. It may be that De Renne, who hated pomposity and publicity, was led to a personal dislike of Stevens because there is much evidence that Stevens liked publicity and may have assumed an attitude of pomposity without intending it.[16] It can hardly be that De Renne disliked Stevens because the latter was a New Englander who had come to Georgia and grown prominent in Savannah; De Renne himself had been born in Philadelphia and only half of his ancestry was Southern. There was apparently no sectional animosity between the two, which at this time was playing havoc with the feelings

of many other Southerners and Northerners. Certainly Stevens had been kind and generous to De Renne in acknowledgments in his history, as, indeed, had De Renne been likewise to Stevens in the days when the book was being written. In his preface Stevens wrote, "To Mr. George Wymberley Jones, son of the late Dr. Geo. Jones, of Savannah, a young but ardent lover of historic lore, and whose library is more complete in works relating to Georgia than any private collection I have met with, I am under peculiar obligations for most generous aid. The plates of the bust of Oglethorpe and of Whitefield's Orphan House were presented by him." [17] As De Renne was now only twenty years old, the expression "a young but ardent lover of historic lore," should not have seemed belittling. The engraving of Oglethorpe was made the frontispiece of the history and additional acknowledgment was given under the title, "From an original Engraving, in the possession of Geo. Wymberley Jones." De Renne had these made by W. Greatback, a reputable London engraver, and presented 2,000 of them to Stevens for his history.[18]

It is not to be gainsaid that De Renne did not have some reason to criticize adversely Stevens's history, based on the demerits of the book, though it was favorably reviewed in the periodicals of the day.[19] And De Renne gave examples of its demerits in his *Observations*. It is easy to surmise on a basis other than personal dislike for Stevens that De Renne thought the whole project of a history of Georgia at this time was unwise. In support of this view, the Appendix to his *Observations* should be cited. In this Appendix, unsigned but apparently not by De Renne,[20] quoted from the Augusta *Constitutionalist,* the suggestion is set forth that the province of the Georgia Historical Society was first to collect historical documents, printed and manuscript, and to publish "the most interesting and important" among the manuscripts. Then it should publish "a few of the rarest and most curious" early colonial tracts, and after the Society's collection should have grown extensive and the interest of the people whetted in the history of the state, "some one should have *then* been appointed to digest these copious

materials in one historical work." [21] In fact De Renne had started out along this very line in his Wormsloe Quartos, two of which had already appeared. In this kind of historical activity, he was following the lead of Peter Force and Jared Sparks.[22]

Having completed his task of riddling Stevens, De Renne got back to his Wormsloe Quartos and the next year (1850) issued his third in the series. This was the *Journal and Letters of Eliza Lucas,* now printed for the first time, and "Edited by Mrs. Harriott Pinckney Holbrook: . . . privately printed for George Wymberley-Jones: . . . . The impression . . . limited to nineteen Copies." Eliza Lucas herself is interesting enough and so is the information in this Quarto, but there is not much of it, as there are only thirty pages. It deals with topography, crops, and social conditions in South Carolina. The span of time is 1739 to 1762. Eliza Lucas came to South Carolina with her father and mother from Antigua on account of her mother's health. Her father soon returned to become the governor of that island in 1743. Eliza married Charles Pinckney, Chief Justice of the Province, and became the mother of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney.

Following his Lucas Quarto, but in the same year (1850), De Renne sandwiched into his series the rarest reprint of all his publishing activities—but not one of his Quartos. This was Ik: Marvel's "A Bachelor's Reverie," which he had read in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for September of 1849, and which had been reprinted in the October 1850 issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* a publication started only four months previously. De Renne asked a Philadelphia friend of his, Winthrop Sargent, to write "Ik: Marvel," whose real name was Donald G. Mitchell, for permission to reprint this article in book form. Sargent wrote Mitchell on November 8, 1850. Referring to De Renne as an "odd bibliomaniacal friend of mine," Winthrop continued, "In common with every person of taste who has seen it, he has read the article with exceeding delight—and is desirous, in his enthusiasm, of preserving it in a more elegant and worthy dress than it would receive from an American Publisher. Having some experience as a private printer of

rare American M.S.S. [manuscripts] &c—in numbers of from a dozen to twenty or thirty copies of each work printed—he wishes to print privately, for distribution among his friends, & for his own gratification, ten copies of the 'Reverie,' and requests your consent thereto.

"The tale will, you understand, be privately printed—not published—and the edition limited to ten impressions. The paper, ink, and typography shall all be of the most beautiful and costly description—and should you make no objections to his *project,* he will be happy to show you one of the most exquisite passages in the whole range of English Literature, in a garb unexcelled, and probably unequalled by any work *published* in America. Should you yield this assent, he begs me to desire your acceptance of a copy of his edition, and his and my sincere thanks." Permission having been secured, De Renne printed twelve copies (not ten), containing 41 pages, with the imprint "Wormsloe. MDCCCL." De Renne's own copy, one of the few known to be extant, is in the De Renne Collection of the University of Georgia Library, and is bound in most exquisite form.

De Renne was now twenty-three years old and still a bachelor. He was probably weighing the advantages and disadvantages of his present status, and the story of the bachelor's reverie was much in point, with the bachelor sitting in his New England cabin before his fire in a reverie that carried him throughout the whole gamut of married life with its joys and sorrows—the fire's first smoking indicated doubt whether he should marry, then the blaze brought on marriage and cheer, and finally the ashes signified the death of wife and children —he awoke from his reverie: "I half ejaculated a prayer of thanks that such desolation had not yet come nigh me; and a prayer of hope that it might never come." This story entranced De Renne, but luckily he did not take heed of its warnings: Two years later he would marry.[23]

His next Quarto came out in 1851, being part of a manuscript never before published, entitled *Diary of Col. Winthrop Sargent, Adjutant General of the United States Army, During*

the Campaign of MDCCXCI. This was the most extensive, so far, of the Quartos, coming to 58 pages. The edition was limited to 46 copies. The part published relates to the St. Clair expedition, north of the Ohio River in 1791. Probably the reason why De Renne became interested in publishing this diary so far removed in its subject matter from Georgia was that the grandson of Colonel Winthrop Sargent, whose name was also Winthrop Sargent, was a good friend of De Renne's in Philadelphia, and owned the manuscript. He had shown his regard for Sargent four years before when he had inscribed his book on insanity:

To
Winthrop Sargent, Esquire.
As a Slight Token of
Admiration for his Talents,
Esteem for his Character,
And of
Personal Attachment
This Little Volume
Is Inscribed
By his Friend
The Author

Now for a long spell the Wormsloe Quartos ceased; in fact no more appeared during the lifetime of De Renne, though he had planned others. The fifth and sixth, which completed the series, were published by De Renne's widow. *Acts Passed by the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia. 1755 to 1774,* published in 1881, was the fifth of the Wormsloe Quartos. This volume did not contain all of the laws passed during that period, but only those which had never before been printed. De Renne had secured copies of them in the Public Record Office, in London. His widow requested Charles C. Jones, Jr., no relation to the Noble Jones family, to prepare them for publication. This volume was by far the largest up to this time; it contained 427 pages. But the principle of severely limited editions was adhered to; only 49 copies were published.[24]

The sixth and final Wormsloe Quarto was *A Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America. By the Rt. Honble John, Earl of Egmont, Viscount Perceval of Canturk, Baron Perceval of Burton, one of his Majesty's Most Privy Council in the Kingdom of Ireland, and first President of the Board of Trustees of the Colony of Georgia.* This was the most extensive of all the Quartos, containing 493 pages, but it was limited to the inevitable 49 copies. This volume was edited by Charles C. Jones, Jr., and was published in 1886 by De Renne's widow, De Renne himself never having known of the manuscript which was now first published. It was sold at a London auction in 1881 and was presented to the State of Georgia by J. S. Morgan, an American banker in England.[25]

Though De Renne came near having a collision with the Georgia Historical Society when he wrote his criticism of Stevens's history and was anonymously chided by the Society, he always remained loyal to that institution. He was at that time a member of two years' standing, having been elected to membership in 1848.[26] In 1873, on the death of Edward J. Harden, the president of the Society at the time, De Renne was elected to succeed him.[27] At the next annual meeting, February 12, 1874, he declined re-election on account of his health. Indeed, ill health had prevented him from presiding at any of the frequent meetings, which the Society in those days held.[28] Three years later the Society elected him a Curator, and this position he held to his death.[29]

He made numerous gifts to the Society. Scarcely an annual meeting was held at which it was not recorded that De Renne had presented to the Society maps, diagrams, books, rare documents, manuscripts, and transcripts of manuscripts in England.[30] He also made extensive contributions of materials to compose volumes of the *Collections* of the Society as well as of funds for meeting the expense of publication. In a tribute to his memory, the Society noted that he had been a member for more than thirty years and that this long membership had "been of great

advantage thereto, in numberless gifts and benefactions, growing out of the warm interest which he took in its welfare and progress." [31]

His historical interests led him to England frequently, where he browsed in the great museums, libraries, and official archives. In the summer of 1870 he examined at the Public Record Office "all the papers in the possession of the British Government concerning the early history of Georgia." [32] As a direct result of that visit, he secured a transcript of the "Report of Sir James Wright on the Condition of the Province of Georgia, on 20th Sept. 1773" [33] and presented it to the Society. At the same meeting he presented also a facsimile map of the lower part of the Savannah River.[34] The next summer he wrote from London to the president of the Georgia Historical Society, wanting to get a list of all the Oglethorpe and Wright letters that were in Georgia, so that he might secure copies of others that he would locate in England.[35] He had copies made of all the Oglethorpe letters he could find and all Wright letters except "such as were merely formal." [36] The Publishing Committee arranged all these documents and in 1873 published them in volume three of the Society's *Collections.*

Almost to his own death, De Renne pursued Oglethorpe with something akin to filial attachment. In 1874 he presented to the Society two framed engravings, one of Oglethorpe and the other of the donor's grandfather Noble W. Jones. The engraving of Oglethorpe, as previously mentioned, was done by Greatback of London and the other by Robinson of the same city. De Renne noted that both copies were "*early proof* impressions, and both artists were men of good repute in their day." He added, "The plates are still in my possession." [37] And in 1879, the year before his death, he got in London a photographic copy of Oglethorpe's will, which he now presented to the Society.[38]

As the years went by, De Renne was becoming more steeped in the colonial records of Georgia to be found in England. In 1875 he presented to the Society the commissions of John Reynolds, first colonial governor of Georgia, calling attention to the fact that these were the real constitution of the colony after the

Trustees had given up their charter. He had found them in London and had had "properly authenticated copies to be made." He hoped that they might be published.[39]

Having provided the material for volume three of the Society's *Collections,* De Renne in 1878 paid for the publication of volume four and presented the Society 500 copies. Being extremely modest in his benefactions, he did not make public the fact of his gift, and the Society, "deeply grateful," had to thank for this generosity an unnamed member "moved by state pride and by interest in the Society's progress as a diffuser of historical knowledge." [40] He permitted no mention of this gift in the preface of the volume but did allow this dedication:

To
George Wymberley-Jones De Renne, Esq.,
Of Savannah
Whose Intelligent Research, Cultivated Taste, and Ample Fortune
Have Been
So Generously Enlisted in Rescuing from Oblivion
The Early Memories of Georgia,
These Sketches are Respectfully and Cordially Inscribed.

De Renne's interest in Georgia colonial history was produced and whetted by the fact that his ancestors had played an important part in that period. He had a sort of nostalgia for those days, which led him to defend the leaders who had directed the destinies of Georgia and of the mother country. Had George Wymberley Jones De Renne lived earlier, he undoubtedly would have supported his great-grandfather Noble Jones in opposition to his grandfather Noble Wimberly Jones. Sir James Wright would have been then as he was now a great hero in De Renne's eyes. When De Renne was having the Wright letters copied in London he remarked to the president of the Georgia Historical Society that they gave the point of view of the Loyalists, "a party, which like all the vanquished, has received scant justice from the Conqueror's historians." [41]

De Renne was a Loyalist a hundred years too late, but his tardiness was not his fault. He would now do what he could to set

the record straight, and the opportunity, he thought, came rather unexpectedly in 1875. In view of the Centennial of American Independence, Samuel V. Niles, a grandson of the celebrated Hezekiah of *Niles' Register* fame, decided to republish his grandfather's book *The Principles and Acts of the American Revolution.* Noting that there was only one document from Georgia in the work, Niles thought that the state should have greater recognition. Therefore, he asked the governor of Georgia to supply additional documents. The governor passed the request on to the Georgia Historical Society, and it, in turn, asked De Renne to supply the material. De Renne soon put together an article, but it is not clear as to whether or not it was a composition by himself or a series of excerpts from the writings of some person of Revolutionary times, most probably Wright, giving the point of view of the Loyalists—not exactly what Niles wanted. De Renne thought the paper might be entitled "Principles and Acts of the American Revolution, as they appeared at the time to a Loyalist." In offering this paper De Renne set forth very clearly what he himself thought about the Loyalists: "The American view of that struggle is so one-sided, and the tendency to indiscriminate panegyric of the lucky Patriots so inveterate, that it seemed to me time now at the end of a century to suggest what appeared to be forgotten—that there was another side to that question. To judge justly, it is undeniable that both sides must be heard. And amidst the roar of eulogy which is to resound through the land in this coming centennial year, it seemed worth while to try whether the still small voice of our old Royal Governor could get a hearing." [42]

Apparently the Society was somewhat surprised by the kind of article De Renne had submitted. Some "discussion arose as to whether the article was such as Mr. Niles desired to insert in his book," and to dispose of the matter it was referred to a committee. The committee recommended its acceptance by the Society and its transmittal to the governor to be sent to Niles. In 1876 through A. S. Barnes & Company, Niles published *Centennial Offering. Republication of the Principles and Acts of*

the Revolution in America . . . ; but it contained no supplementary material on Georgia except a few short letters by Wright. This probably was De Renne's emasculated article.[43]

De Renne was far ahead of his generation in his desire to even up the blame for the American Revolution and to assess the principles held by each side. There had been some earlier efforts to rehabilitate the Loyalists, such as Lorenzo Sabine's work in 1864, but not until the twentieth century did American scholarship assume an even keel on matters relating to the American Revolution and the Loyalists. Had De Renne chosen to direct his historical activities into writing, he might well have been the pioneer American historian in this movement. He had an original and vigorous style of writing, which he displayed in his early twenties; but he never went beyond short compositions, though he was urged on by the greatest Georgia historian of his day, Charles C. Jones, Jr.[44]

It was only natural that a person of De Renne's historical interests would begin a collection of books and other historical materials. In fact his collecting instinct preceded his publications and writings, for by the time he was twenty years old he had a library "more complete in works relating to Georgia than any private collection" Stevens had run across while he was writing his history.[45] He was the first of the generation of Joneses in America to build up a library of note. When the Civil War began to threaten the coastal regions, De Renne moved his library from Wormsloe to Savannah and stored it in "Habersham's store," where it was when General Sherman occupied Savannah near the end of 1864. Well-famed already for marauding and pillaging, Sherman's troops sacked De Renne's library and either carried it off to grace homes in the Middle West or burned and scattered the books. In this catastrophe De Renne lost about 1,300 books and various engravings and manuscripts.[46] At least one manuscript he did not lose, for some years previously he had presented to Israel K. Tefft, who had one of the most superb and extensive autograph collections in America, a signature of Button Gwinnett, a Georgia Signer.[47] De Renne had

sent some of his books to the upcountry, for he noted that on April 25, 1865 they were destroyed "by fire at Oaklands, Jefferson Co., Ga." [48]

When the war was over, De Renne set about making another collection, for he loved books and historical records, even as he loved history—he could not enjoy one without the other. His friends took pleasure in presenting him books which they thought would particularly appeal to him. Especially true was this of Charles C. Jones, Jr., who frequently presented him items, always including those which he himself wrote. De Renne was greatly pleased with these gifts "to add to the ruins of a collection; which is all that mine can now be called," as he wrote Jones in 1875. Near the end of his life he was actively planning additions to his antebellum Wormsloe Quartos, as has been noted—a work to be completed by his widow.[49] At his death his library went to his son Everard, who willed it at his death to the State Library in Atlanta. According to the will the library must be kept intact and be called "The Mary De Renne Historical Collection." From the catalogue issued by the State Library, some idea may be gained of De Renne's second library—it being assumed that Everard added only a few books and also that he probably disposed of none. According to this catalogue there were about 150 books and pamphlets, some manuscripts, photographs, engravings, and maps. The books were of the select and rarest of Georgiana, such as M'Call's history of Georgia and Alexander Hewat's history of South Carolina and Georgia, and among the manuscripts was the interesting item, "Last Order of the Confederate Government, dated at Washington, Ga., May 5, 1865." [50]

Though born in Philadelphia of a mother whose ancestry was entirely Northern, and living much of his life away from Georgia, De Renne was a thorough-going Georgian from the time he could remember; for he had spent some impressionable years at Wormsloe amidst the traditions of Noble Jones. So when his schooling was over, he made Wormsloe his home as much as his comings and goings would permit. And for a few years after his graduation he was more anchored to Georgia than not, for he

was soon giving more than friendly attention to Mary Wallace Nuttall, who was the daughter of William B. Nuttall, of Virginia extraction, and his wife, Mary Wallace Savage, a Savannah heiress and daughter of Thomas Savage. In the course of time William B. Nuttall died, leaving his widow and their one child Mary, who received a half of the family fortune of land and slaves. Now also in the course of time, George Noble Jones, who was the son of De Renne's half-brother Noble Wimberly Jones, married the widow Nuttall, and on October 21, 1852 De Renne married Mary Wallace Nuttall. So it turned out that De Renne married his half-nephew's step-daughter.[51]

Their first child, a boy, was born September 23, 1853, and was named Wymberley Jones. There were three other children: Everard in 1857, Letitia in 1860, and Kentwyn in 1862.

The family was just getting well started when war came. Secession was a great tragedy for the De Rennes, although they believed that a state had a right to secede. As Mrs. De Renne said, looking back from November 1865, "It was a move which we regretted deeply having friends and interests in both sections, and being in the habit of dividing the year between them. We felt no wrongs, and sought no redress, such as might not have been obtained in the Halls of Congress, had the Southern Members but held together and by voting in unison made themselves a powerful minority." Had the leaders both North and South done as much visiting back and forth with as many interests in each section as the Joneses-De Rennes, there would not have been a civil war. When the war had come and gone, Mrs. De Renne thought that the South had made a mistake in attacking Fort Sumter, defended by so few, and then making so much ado over winning the victory. It allowed "the enemy to say that we began the war." [52]

In that tragic year of 1861 the De Renne family remained until July at Wormsloe "where we never as a family, had staid so late in the summer, from the old fashioned fear of malaria." Deciding to spend the rest of the summer in the hills of the Southern Appalachians, they set out up through South Carolina and reached the railroad at Greenville, where Mrs. De

Renne decided it would be better to remain, rather than risk the uncertainties of stage travel "with young children." In September they went on to Flat Rock, North Carolina to stay with friends. In October they returned to Wormsloe and had scarcely got there "when the cannon of Port Royal shook our house from cellar to garret, though the firing was at forty miles distance." Peace and prosperity, she mused, "went down to the sound of them." A Federal fleet had made its descent on the South Carolina coast and captured Port Royal on November 7, and now the South Atlantic coast lay pretty much at its mercy. Mrs. De Renne was convinced that the Federals could have proceeded to Savannah and easily taken it, and she could never understand why they did not. Mr. De Renne thought it best for his family to retreat to the upcountry, "while he remained, to fight in defence, if needs must be" and to save whatever he could out of Wormsloe and of property in Savannah, too. The family drove nine miles to Savannah and there in great agony Mrs. De Renne and her three children with their Scotch nurse took their leave of Mr. De Renne and boarded a train for Augusta, where she refugeed for a time at the Planters Hotel.[53]

Within two weeks after the De Renne family had left Savannah, Robert E. Lee, who was in Savannah directing defenses, reported that the Federals had made a lodgment on Tybee Island. Before the end of the year the Federal fleet had blockaded Ossabaw and Wassaw islands. In early December the Confederates abandoned their works on Wassaw.[54] In September Colonel A. R. Lawton had been ordered to organize forces to defend the coast and the next month the Department of Georgia had been erected with Lawton, now Brigadier General, in command. The Federals, ignorant of the topography and with insufficient maps, were threading their way among the "rivers" of saltwater which made a latticework of the lands below Savannah. Wormsloe, on the Isle of Hope, in the midst of all this network, received the immediate attention of General Lawton, who posted nearby a battery of six pieces of field artillery, commanded by two officers and 50 men, first called Battery Lawton, but later called Fort Wimberly, which was on the same site as the fort com-

om a daguerreotype.

MRS. GEORGE WYMBERLEY JONES DE RENNE

manded by Noble Jones in colonial times. The Federals feeling their way up the Jones's Narrows soon felt the fire from this battery and beat a quick retreat.[55]

On April 11, 1862 Fort Pulaski, on Cockspur Island, at the mouth of the Savannah River, surrendered to the Federals; [56] the way up the Savannah was blocked by river obstructions and batteries, and the defenses to the southward on the islands and watercourses the Confederates were strengthening. But it was soon considered more strategic to defend the upper stretches of the Wilmington River which passes on into St. Augustine Creek and thence into the Savannah below the city. This method of defense left the Isle of Hope secondary in importance, as it lay farther to the southward and more exposed to the coastal blockading fleet. But it was of first importance to fortify the Isle of Hope Causeway across the marsh to the mainland and to fortify the so-called "line of Isle of Hope" on the mainland fronting the Isle. The Isle of Hope "siege train," commanded by 75 men, consisted of four 8-inch siege howitzers, two 4-inch Blakely rifles, and one 20-pounder Parrott gun.[57]

In early 1864 when the enemy attacked Whitemarsh Island, far up toward Savannah, a detachment of 40 cavalry was ordered up from the Isle of Hope, which in a sense had thus been bypassed by the Federals.[58] But nothing came of this attack, and by the middle of the summer the Isle of Hope had been re-enforced. There were now 176 effective men stationed there with three light batteries, and in "addition to their duties attending to their animals and batteries, this force [had] heavy picket duty to perform, and [had] charge of two heavy batteries." [59] But the Isle of Hope and Fort Wimberly on it were destined to play no active part in the war, for Savannah was taken not by sea forces from the south and east, but by land forces under Sherman from the west. On December 19, 1864 the troops at Fort Wimberly were ordered to march at dark to Savannah and cross the river at Screven's Ferry. Two days later Savannah fell.[60]

Sherman immediately made preparations to send some of his army northward by ship, and in seeking out "convenient points for the embarkation of troops and wagons on sea-going vessels,"

on the twenty-third he sent a "small guard" to be "in charge of a good officer" to garrison Fort Wimberly, as well as like forces to other former Confederate forts like Beaulieu and Thunderbolt.[61] Two days later Sherman sent 100 men to Fort Wimberly to be used in helping to explore the coast for good points of embarkation and to give assistance "to officers who may be authorized to dismantle the fortifications." [62]

With the war's approach to Wormsloe, De Renne moved his library, as has been noted, and some of his household furnishings, into Savannah, but much was left, and despite the fact that "a good officer" was supposed to be in charge of Fort Wimberly, Wormsloe suffered considerable vandalism at the hands of the soldiers, as the marble mantelpieces were to testify for future generations. Of course, it has ever been true that soldiers will be soldiers, and in this instance, it was in fact the Northern visitors who did the damage, as it was De Renne's custom to make frequent visits to Wormsloe to prevent local marauding.[63]

It is not known that De Renne took an active part in the military activities of the war, and it is assumed that he did not because of his health, but he was "a good rebel," and always revered the memory of the Confederacy. As Wormsloe was subject to confiscation, by the laws against rebels, it was seized after the war and leased to a Northerner, who expected to grow rich raising sea-island cotton; but he failed with his first effort as did so many other Northerners who came south after the war for the same purpose.[64] De Renne, being worth more than $20,000, could not qualify under President Johnson's general pardon proclamation of May 29, 1865, but he might ask for a special pardon from the President himself, and if properly recommended, he would likely receive it. This was done, for on August 29 he received a presidential pardon, having been recommended by Justice James M. Wayne, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, who was a Savannahian. A pardon had the effect of restoring all confiscated property, and so Wormsloe came back into the possession of De Renne.[65]

De Renne was broad in his sympathies and philanthropies. He had no prejudice against Negroes and their education. In

1878 he presented to the Savannah Board of Education a building on West Broad Street on the condition that it be forever used for the education of colored children.[66] The next year he presented to the Ladies' Memorial Association the bronze statue of a Confederate soldier which adorns the pedestal of the Confederate monument in Savannah. In his letter making the gift he honored the memory of the Confederate soldier in this dignified but touching language:

"It represents him as he was,—marked with the marks of service in features, form, and raiment;—a man who chose rather to be than to seem, to bear hardship than to complain of it;—a man who met with unflinching firmness the fate decreed him, to suffer, to fight, and to die in vain.

"I offer the Statue as a tribute to the 'MEN' of the Confederate Army. Without name or fame, or hope of gain they did the duty appointed them to do. Now,—their last fight fought, their suffering over,—they lie in scattered graves throughout our wide Southern land, at rest at last, returned to the bosom of the loved Mother they valiantly strove to defend.

"According to your faith, believe that they may receive their reward in the World to come:—they had none on earth." [67]

De Renne was not only benevolent and philanthropic and generous with his ample means in the larger aspects of his times, but he was equally hospitable in the smaller ways of life. He loved his friends and acquaintances and often afforded them his hospitalities. On April 12 (Fort Sumter day), 1878 he gave a picnic on Tybee Island. To make the trip he chartered a steamer, which took the party down and back the same day. They lunched "on boned turkey, sandwiches, rolls, crab salad, chicken salad, orange sherbet, strawberries and strawberry ice cream, snowball pound cake, 6 bottles of champagne, 2 of sherry, 2 of whiskey, lots of ice." [68]

De Renne had never been robust; as a child he had been sickly and his illness had delayed the family now and then on the trips back and forth to Philadelphia.[69] With all his interest in Wormsloe and love for Georgia, he maintained a residence in Philadelphia, the city of his mother and her people, and found op-

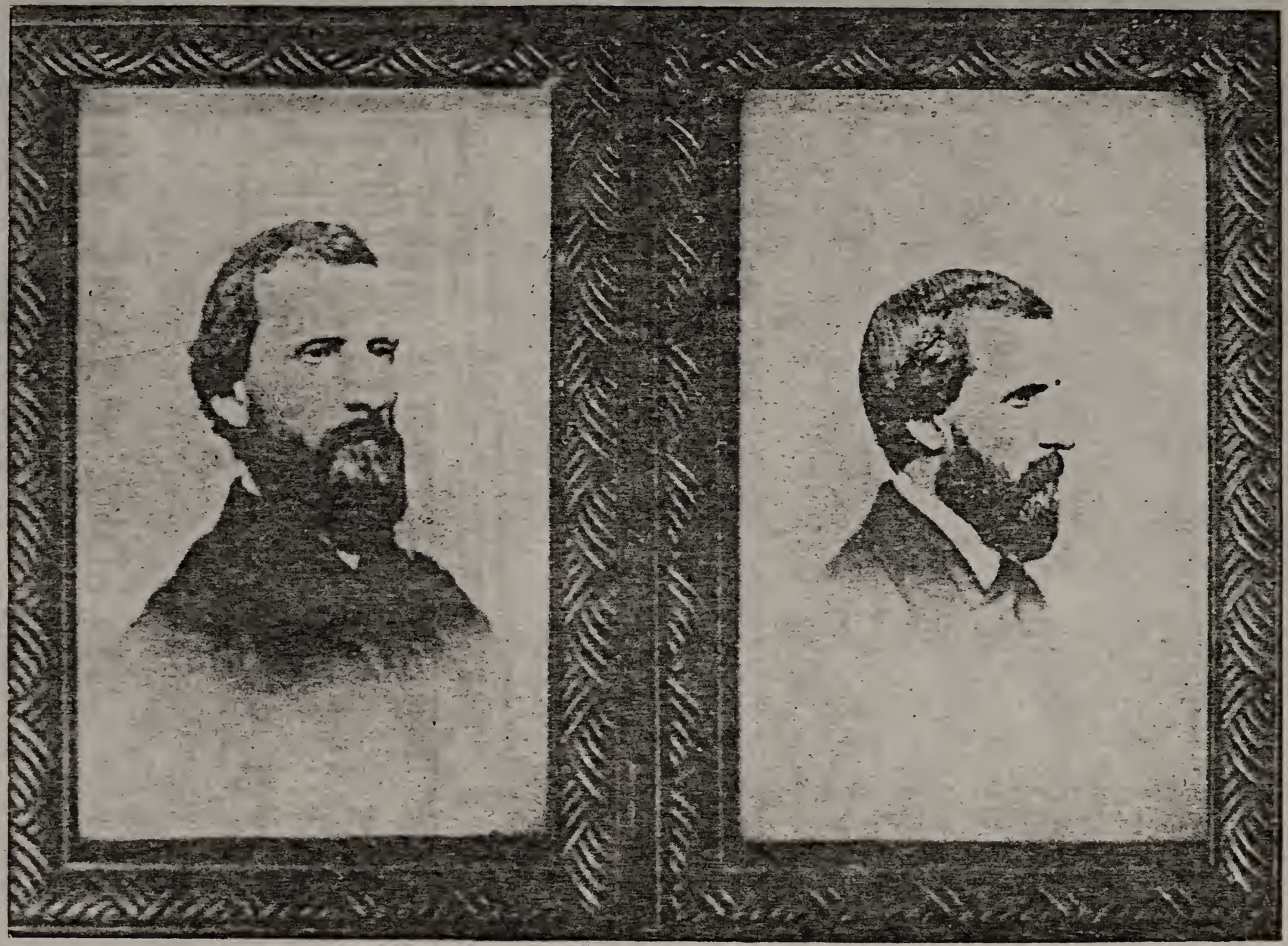
portunities to spend some time there. It was there that he died on August 4, 1880. His wife and two of the children were in Europe at the time. His body was brought back from Philadelphia, and with the funeral in charge of the Right Reverend J. W. Beckwith, he was buried in Bonaventure Cemetery in a vault with this simple inscription: "George Wymberley Jones De Renne. Born July 19, 1827. Died Aug. 4, 1880." [70]

Here he was given his place among his ancestors, whose memory he revered and whose lives had been an inspiration to him. After the old Tattnall Plantation of Bonaventure had been converted into a cemetery in 1850, De Renne had the remains of some ancestors removed from the Colonial Cemetery in Savannah to Bonaventure. And a hundred years after Noble Jones had died and had been originally buried on the Wormsloe plantation near the old fort and later removed, De Renne enclosed within a fence the holy ground of his unnamed ancestors and kindred still remaining there and placed over their remains a great stone with this inscription:

George Wymberley Jones De Renne
Hath Laid this Stone
MDCCCLXXV

To Mark the Old Burial Place of
Wormsloe
1737——1789
And to Save from Oblivion the Graves of his
Kindred.

The Georgia Historical Society in a body attended De Renne's funeral, and at a subsequent meeting, after passing resolutions of regret at his untimely death, decided that the orator at their next annual meeting use as his subject the life and character of De Renne. Mrs. De Renne in a letter to the Society begged it not to have the memorial oration, knowing "how he always shrank from appearing before the public." [71] The Society respected her wishes in the letter of the law but not in its spirit, for G. W. J. De Renne's great friend and admirer, Charles C. Jones, Jr., was invited to give the anniversary address and in



From a photograph.

GEORGE WYMBERLEY JONES DE RENNE

that address he paid a long and glowing tribute to De Renne. But he saved himself from violating Mrs. De Renne's wishes by stating that the address was about "those who were the founders, patrons, and special friends of the Society." [72] Jones had soon after De Renne's death written a eulogy of him, which appeared in the Savannah *Morning News*.[73]

De Renne, "the wealthiest citizen of Savannah," possessed of "a munificent fortune, . . . quietly and unobtrusively sought to do good as seemed to him best, and any publicity of his charitable or generous deeds was particularly repugnant to him." [74] Having performed for the public, as has been shown, innumerable little deeds of charity and humanitarian acts, and some larger ones, De Renne still had a fortune at his death, which he felt should be left to his family. With that in mind, he had the Georgia legislature pass a law in 1875, allowing him "to nominate and appoint as executor and trustee the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities," and to "authorize said corporation to execute said office in every respect, as if said corporation was a natural person resident within the State of Georgia." [75]

In his will he gave his wife Mary 100 shares of Augusta and Savannah Railroad stock or in lieu thereof $10,000 in gold. The rest of his estate he gave in trust to the Pennsylvania Company, directing it to give his widow one third of the annual net income, his residence in Savannah on Bull and Liberty streets, and "my country house at Wormsloe" during her life or widowhood, and from the remainder of his estate equal annuities to his four children. On the remarriage or death of his widow, Wormsloe and his Savannah house should come into the possession of his daughter Letitia to have and hold until her marriage or death. At the death of his last child, the whole estate should be divided among their children according to their parents' shares. But if all of his children should die without issue then all of his estate should be set up as a special trust for establishing and maintaining a hospital for incurables, in the County of Philadelphia, to be called the De Renne Hospital for Incurables.[76]

This was an unusual will in the method of its administration

as well as in the fact that it provided only for an income to his children during their whole lifetime. Thus having skipped the generation of his own children, who were granted only an income from his estate, ample though it was, he provided that not until all of his own children were dead and his grandchildren were on the scene, should his estate be divided into fee simple ownership. This arrangement may be explained by the fact that he may not have had faith in the ability of his own children to manage their part of the estate, should it have been divided. But how he had done violence to the last wishes of his cherished ancestor Noble Jones, who in his will had said that he wanted "Wormslow" to go at the death of his daughter Mary, to his son Noble Wimberly Jones "and his Heirs for ever," intending that it "do remain in the Name and family." First, George Frederick Tilghman Jones had changed "Wormslow" to "Wormsloe," which was a minor act; but, also, he had changed the family name from Jones to De Renne, which was a major act; but what might be considered even more, he had provided an interregnum of one generation in the mastership of Wormsloe—during the lifetime of his children no one should own Wormsloe after the death or remarriage of his widow and the death or marriage of his daughter Letitia, and instead the estate should be in the control of a corporation domiciled far beyond the borders of Georgia.

What is more puzzling is the fact that in the event of his family's becoming extinct with the death of his children, he provided that his estate should go for a Northern benefaction rather than for one in Savannah or somewhere else in Georgia or the South. Of course, it must not be forgotten that the family had been associated in one way or another with Philadelphia for a century, and that some of the family fortune originated there.

His estate was appraised at $700,377.06, a little more than half being in real estate in Savannah. Real estate in Chatham County, outside of Savannah, amounted to $35,900. Of this, Wormsloe with its 736 acres was valued at $20,000; Poplar Grove with 745 acres at $14,900; and Long Island at $1,000. The remainder of his estate, with the exception of household furniture and equip-

ment, was in stocks, bonds, and notes—mostly railroad shares.[77]

Mrs. George Wymberley Jones De Renne was the most pronounced personality among the wives of the masters of Wormsloe, she now as a widow being herself the master of Wormsloe, the seventh. She partook of much of her husband's character. She was generous and philanthropic; she loved history; she revered the memory of the Confederacy; she had a kindly feeling toward the Negroes, suddenly made free by the failure of the Confederacy. Out of the generous income provided for her, she financed the publication of the fifth and sixth Wormsloe Quartos, as previously noted. Duplicating her husband's interest in Negro education in Savannah, she gave the city a school building for them on East Broad Street, on the same conditions set by her husband in his gift, that the building must always be used for Negro education.[78] She gave to the Bethesda Orphan School in 1883 funds to be used in completing a wing to the main structure.[79]

Her most interesting activities and benefactions centered around Confederate history. Just as her husband's greatest historical interests went back to the colonial period of Georgia, her own major interest expressed itself in the Confederate period. Little known or remembered by subsequent generations, this woman made one of the best collections of Confederate materials of any in her time. She gave this rich historical treasure to the Confederate Museum in Richmond, where it became the most valuable part of the Museum's Confederate collection. Douglas Southall Freeman, who made a calendar of these Confederate materials, said that she "with rare judgment, gathered a collection of Confederate publications second to none in the country." [80]

But by far the most interesting of her Confederate acquisitions was the Permanent Constitution of the Confederacy, which she purchased from an agent of F. G. deFontaine (or Fontaine) in New York. DeFontaine had secured it at the end of the war, in Chester, South Carolina, where a great many of the official archives of the Confederacy and army supplies had been concentrated, and there deFontaine had joined a motley mob of

refugees, guerrillas, and soldiers to help "scoop up the remnants of the Confederacy." When he opened up the iron-bound boxes which he had succeeded in beating the Yankees to, he found among many other official records both the *permanent* and *provisional* constitutions. Mrs. De Renne bought the former; the latter finally found its way to the Confederate Museum in Richmond.[81]

After the death of her husband, Mrs. De Renne, the seventh master of Wormsloe, made her home in Savannah with her daughter Letitia. Wormsloe remained unoccupied, and probably somewhat neglected, and as Letitia outlived her mother, she became the eighth master of Wormsloe, though she never lived there. The ninth master or, at least, tenant was Wymberley Jones De Renne, the eldest child and son of George Wymberley Jones De Renne.

CHAPTER XV

Wymberley Jones De Renne, Traditional Gentleman and Collector of Georgiana

WYMBERLEY JONES DE RENNE, having been born on September 23, 1853 in Newport, Rhode Island, was twenty-seven years old when his father died. After the age of ten he had seen little of his father and nothing at all of Wormsloe. For following some preliminary schooling in Newport and in Greenville, South Carolina, he with his two brothers, Everard and Kentwyn, in the midst of the Civil War, ran the blockade out of Charleston for Europe. For the next dozen years he lived abroad, busied with a continuation of his schooling. He soon entered the Lycée Imperial in Montpélier, France and remained there from 1864 to 1867. He then enrolled in Sellig's Institute at Vevay, Switzerland, where he remained for the next few years, including the time of the Franco-Prussian War, before passing on to the University of Leipzig, where he received the duelling scar, so highly prized by the German students. After Leipzig he attended lectures in law and history at the University of Strasbourg for the year 1873–1874.

De Renne then returned to the United States, and during the first part of 1875 he made a trip around the world. Arriving back in October 1875, he entered the Law School of Columbia University, and the next year he received the degree of Bachelor of Laws. The following year he was admitted to the New York bar, but he never practiced the profession of law.

Although it seemed that Wymberley Jones De Renne was about to depart from the traditional family custom of being closely connected with Philadelphia, as he had not followed in

his father's footsteps by attending the University of Pennsylvania, he was soon to re-establish that association, for on June 22, 1880 he married a widow who was a resident of that city, Mrs. Laura Camblos Norris. Less than two months later his father died, and now De Renne came into a handsome annuity provided by his father through the Pennsylvania Company.

With his varied cosmopolitan background and far-flung travels, Wymberley Jones De Renne was apparently having some trouble in finding himself. He had broken the tradition of always having in the family a person trained for medicine; for instead he had studied law but he would not practice it; and with the Civil War having forever destroyed the antebellum Southern plantation system, he would not be a planter and live in a plantation mansion—perhaps even not in Wormsloe. The first business which he went into was far removed from his background, but something which would not have been out of keeping with the times and interests of his great-great-grandfather Noble Jones. It was cattle ranching. Noble Jones had had his cattle and cattle brand, as did many other colonial Georgians, with their herds grazing on the public domain. Wymberley Jones De Renne decided to be a rancher, not in Georgia, where people had long forgotten that there ever was a cattle business in the state, but in Texas, which instinctively at this time suggested cattle ranches, cattle rustlers, bad men, and two-gun law enforcers, too. He settled in Concho County, in central Texas, and bought into the Buena Ventura Ranch at Kickapoo.

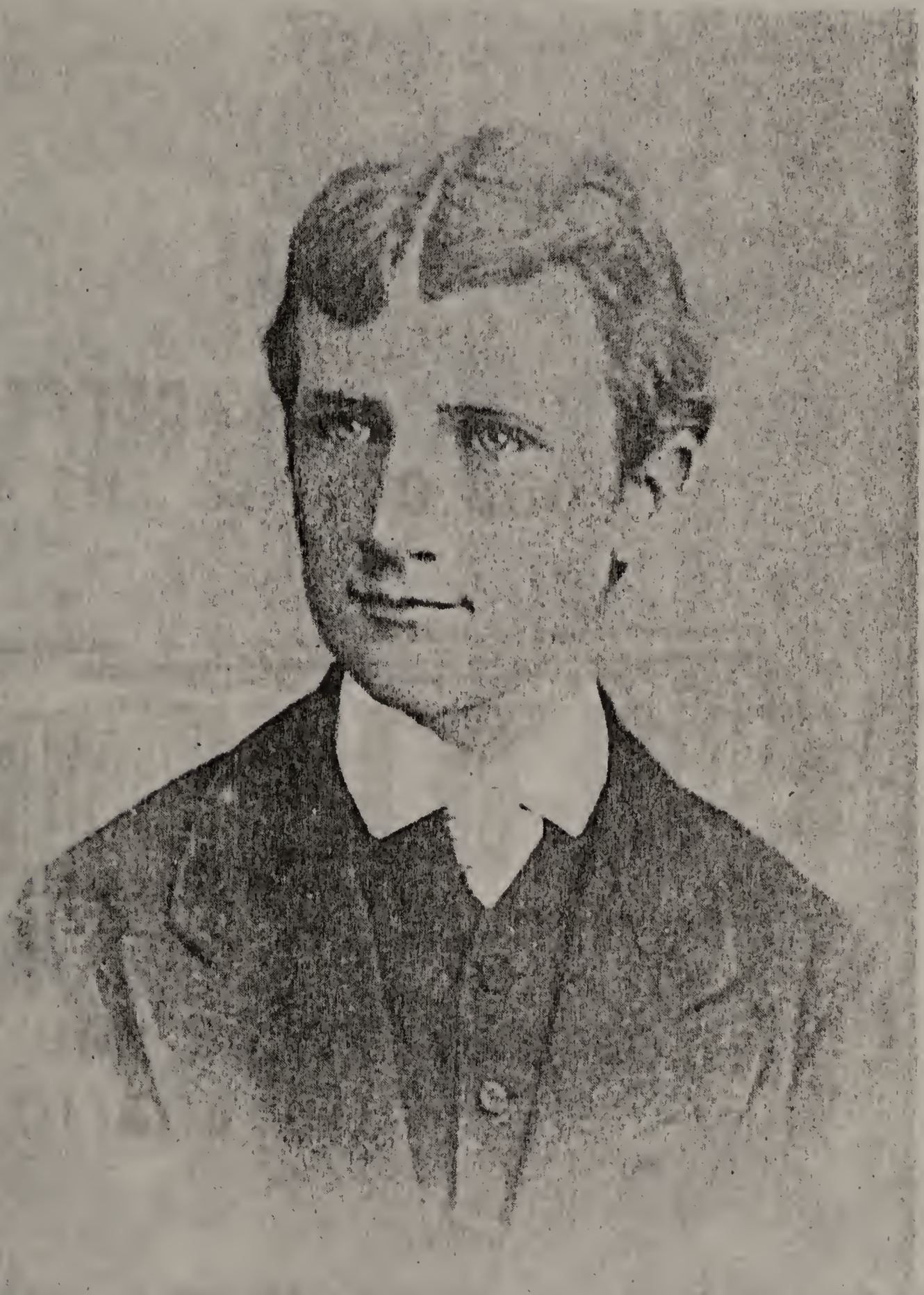
His venture was entirely successful and he became popular with the ranchmen and citizenry in general. In 1882 he was elected a County Commissioner. But it seemed entirely out of keeping with family tradition and especially so with Wymberley Jones De Renne's past life for him to be living on the fringe of civilization in the wilds of Texas. He apparently began to think so, too. He forsook Texas, and his forsaking it was undoubtedly speeded by the loss there of his first-born child, a son, and the expectation of another child. With the ancient tradition of the eldest son succeeding to Wormsloe, this tragedy was

heightened, but was ameliorated by those hopes that the next would be a son.[1]

To flee this land of sorrow and seek forgetfulness, he sold his ranch interests in 1884, and moved back to Europe, where he had already spent most of the mature years of his life. He took up residence in Biarritz, France, and there he lived until the early 1890s. In the words of the memorial sketch of his life issued by the Georgia Historical Society: "He always referred to his sojourn in Biarritz as the happiest period of his life. As a cultured and travelled gentleman, and a representative of an old and influential American family, he was a welcome guest at the most exclusive houses of that cosmopolitan resort—where he had the opportunity of meeting the best types of European aristocracy." [2]

In 1893 he returned to the United States and to his neglected Georgia—neglected indeed, for it began to appear that he had lost interest in the land of his ancestors. He was now nearly forty years old, and he had spent scarcely more than a fourth of his life there. But as surely as the blood of his father and of his mother coursed through his veins so certainly was he to follow in their footsteps in his love for the history of Georgia, especially colonial, as an expression of his father, and Confederate, as an inspiration from his mother. Also he would have the fondness for the Georgia Historical Society that characterized his father and he would continue the familiar De Renne benefactions. Like his father he was interested in publishing valuable documents, though he never continued the Wormsloe Quartos or engaged in any publishing as elaborate; and like his father he would eschew writing. And, too, he would make Wormsloe his home.

As a member of the Georgia Historical Society, he served as a curator from 1896 to 1897, and again becoming one in 1912 he remained so to his death.[3] His most valuable gift to the Society was in 1916, when he presented to it a file, in facsimile, of the *Georgia Gazette* from its beginning April 7, 1763 through May 23, 1770, in seven volumes.[4] His first contribution to the



From a carte de visite photograph taken in Paris in 1869.

WYMBERLEY JONES DE RENNE AT THE AGE OF SIXTEEN

Society through financing one of its publications was in 1902, when he brought out with the inscription, "Published by Wymberley Jones De Renne as a Contribution to Georgia History," Volume V, Part 2 of the *Collections*. It was made up of the order book and the letter book of Samuel Elbert, a Georgia Revolutionary officer. He wrote a short preface expressing his pleasure in adding this volume to the *Collections* and explaining that William Harden, the Librarian of the Society, had prepared for the printers the manuscript, which belonged to the Society. He provided from his historical collections some of the maps that went into Volume VII, Part I of the *Collections,* published in 1909 and entitled "Letters of Montiano. Siege of St. Augustine." His publishing undertaking was in 1907 when through Dodd, Mead & Company he brought out in two volumes a work which he owned in manuscript and which he called *The Removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia*. It was written by Wilson Lumpkin, a former governor of Georgia, in 1852. De Renne wrote the preface. It bore the imprint in addition to Dodd, Mead & Company "Privately Printed, Wormsloe, 1907." This was not the beginning of a series. Though not brought out as one of the *Collections* of the Georgia Historical Society, De Renne presented the issue to the Society.

His interest in publishing historical materials led to his appointment as chairman of the Society's standing Committee on Printing and Publishing. Entering actively into the duties imposed upon this committee, he provided the manuscript as well as maps and illustrations which made up Volume VII, Part III of the *Collections*. This book bore the title "The Spanish Official Account of the Attack on the Colony of Georgia, in America, and of its Defeat on St. Simons Island by General James Oglethorpe." For like illustrative material which went into Volume VIII of the *Collections* the Society was also "indebted to the generous kindness of Mr. Wymberley Jones DeRenne, who is even more distinguished for his patriotism and public spirit in collecting the materials of Georgia History than he is as chairman of our Committee on Printing and Publishing." Credit also went to him for "the excellent quality of the paper and print,"

of this volume. "In form and usefulness," it was "a great improvement on the previous publications of the Society." [5] The title of the volume was "Letters of Joseph Clay, Merchant of Savannah, 1776–1793 and a List of Ships and Vessels Entered at the Port of Savannah for May 1765, 1766 and 1767."

In 1914 he reported that the Committee had decided on the Hawkins Papers for the next volume and that it was their opinion that it would "be greatly prized by all Historical Societies." [6] It was published the next year as Volume IX.

The next year De Renne made a report on the important manuscript holdings of the Society, listing the Benjamin Hawkins Papers; Letters of General Lachlan McIntosh; the James Jackson Papers; the Letter Books of Governors John Martin and Edward Telfair; the Letter Book of Philip Box, Postmaster of Savannah; the Sales Book of George Galphin; and a number of miscellaneous letters on various subjects; also Abstracts of Documents Relating to the State of Georgia, but owned in England. He thought that any of these were worthy of publication and suggested that a choice should soon be made.[7]

De Renne was ever ready to play his part in the Society over and beyond the call of the duties and obligations of membership. In 1914 the Society was seventy-five years old, and it was decided that on February 12, Georgia Day, a birthday celebration should be held. He was made chairman of the Committee on the Celebration. This was the morning program as announced by the Committee: "At half past Eleven o'clock the members of the Society and its guests will meet at the De Soto Hotel and leave the city for an automobile ride over the Savannah race course to Wormsloe, to visit the Old Fort and the Georgia Library. Here they will be entertained by Mr. W. J. DeRenne." [8]

According to the official minutes of the Society, the day was "an ideal one, and the visit to the Library and the Old Fort, together with the charming hospitality of the host made the occasion one long to be remembered." [9] De Renne received his guests in the manner of the country gentleman he was, providing them with a bountiful luncheon, while a string band played befitting music.[10] Times had changed since the days when

his father had taken his guests to Tybee Island on a chartered steamer; the motor age had now arrived.

De Renne's benefactions were, indeed, broader than those made to the Georgia Historical Society. In 1906 the Georgia legislature appropriated $15,000 to aid in erecting in Savannah a monument to James Edward Oglethorpe, and set up a commission to supervise the work. To fill a vacancy made by the death of one of the original members, Governor Joseph M. Brown appointed De Renne. As the monument cost $37,722.35, other sources than the state had to be levied on. The City of Savannah appropriated $15,000; the Georgia Historical Society and De Renne, each, gave $500; and, of course, there were various other societies and individuals who made contributions. Daniel Chester French was the sculptor and artist who created the bronze statue of Oglethorpe which was erected in Chippewa Square.[11]

For the first three generations of the family in Georgia, there were no institutions of higher learning in the colony and state. Noble Jones came to Georgia as an adult with a family and, therefore, past the age when people went to colleges. His son Noble Wimberly and his grandson George could not have attended a college nearer than William and Mary in Virginia, but neither attended that college or any other college in America, nor did what was more common in colonial times, return to England for a college education. The first institution of higher learning in Georgia was opened in 1801, the University of Georgia. The first generation of Joneses who could have attended their state University was represented by George Frederick Tilghman Jones (G. W. J. De Renne), but he was so closely allied with Philadelphia through his mother that he chose to attend the University of Pennsylvania. His son W. J. De Renne, as has appeared, received most of his formal education in European schools and universities; but when he returned to America he found it more to his liking to attend Columbia University. So, it turned out that three generations in America had never attended college and two up to this time had attended, but none had honored his state University.

G. W. J. De Renne's love for Georgia had apparently not ex-

tended to the University, and it began to seem that W. J. De Renne was not going to notice this institution. But in some way, either by some person or event or through a slow growth in his consciousness, he discovered the University of Georgia and as he made for it more and more a place in his affections it increasingly became an object of his generosity. Interested as he was in the history of Georgia, it should be natural that he would want to promote the teaching of this subject in the University. And so he endowed for a time a chair in that institution, known as the "De Renne Professorship in Georgia History." As he collected books for his own library on this subject, he thought of the needs of the University Library, and with this in mind, he made to it a gift of $500, which was invested and designed as an endowment for the purchase of books on Georgia, the first endowment for books which the Library had ever received.[12] But the greatest munificence among all of his many generous acts was the inclusion in his will of the gift of his superb library to the University of Georgia, under certain circumstances; and though these circumstances did not develop and the gift, therefore, did not eventuate, yet the thought that prompted it was magnificent. But W. J. De Renne did not repeat the "unfilial act" which had sent himself and his father out of the state for an education. He sent his son to the University of Georgia.

One of the greatest passions of De Renne's life, which he developed and indulged after his return from Biarritz, was the love of rare and beautiful books and of manuscripts and other items relating to Georgia and to the Confederacy. And part of this passion was the ever-ceaseless quest for such works, the collector's instinct developed into its highest form. He was the true bibliophile. He worshiped at this shrine to the very end of his life, and by that time he had done a superb work. In the words of Leonard L. Mackall, a great Georgia bibliographer, who knew De Renne well and his library perhaps even better, and who worked with him in building it up, this library was "perhaps the finest private collection ever formed for any State in the Union, and certainly by far the most important one in Georgia." [13]

A man so completely self-assured as was De Renne could scarcely be said to be copying after any person or to have his work suggested by former collectors and bibliophiles; but, of course, as previously suggested, he owed something to his father and mother in this respect. But Georgia in its short history had been prolific of workers in this select vineyard. The first of note was Edward Langworthy, of Revolutionary days, who made his collection of Georgia documents for the utilitarian purpose of writing a history of the state. He never wrote the history and his large collection was scattered. A century later W. J. De Renne sought in every manner of the detective's skill to recover and acquire this collection. Some of the items he succeeded in getting, but in vain he sought others. Israel K. Tefft, in antebellum times, succeeded in building up a collection of autographs, "possibly the most important private one in the whole country." [14] G. W. J. De Renne added to it by presenting him with a signature of Button Gwinnett, as before noted. This collection was dispersed in 1867, but W. J. De Renne, not being primarily interested in autographs, and especially not in those from other states and countries, made no effort to corral any wandering Tefft items. Alexander Augustus Smets, a friend and neighbor of Tefft's, made a notable collection of books but with little or no relation to Georgia. This collection was dispersed through sale, but provided nothing for De Renne to search out. Sherman's troops destroyed or dispersed De Renne's father's library, and the new beginnings which his father made after the war he devised to his son Everard, who gave them to the state of Georgia. And W. J. De Renne's mother's collection in almost its entirety went to the Confederate Museum in Richmond. All of this has been previously narrated.

Were the fates unkind to W. J. De Renne in thus denying him any inheritance of books from his father and mother? Or had he at this time shown no interest in such possessions, having been in Europe or in Texas while these transactions were going on? Whatever the reason, when he got started he would continue until he should surpass all others in Georgia or probably the whole United States. One of the other great Georgia col-

lectors, Charles C. Jones, Jr., the famous Georgia historian, lived for a few years into the period of De Renne's collecting activities, and after his death De Renne came into possession of many of the Jones items, especially a great many valuable Confederate manuscripts.[15]

In building up his collection De Renne was a sort of field marshal among bibliophiles. He threw out his lines into the most strategic regions. His friends kept in mind his wants, ready to notify him of finds, and the outstanding book dealers in America and England were kept informed of items which he was especially desirous of acquiring. Between 1905 and 1911 he published at least two numbers of a "List of Books Wanted by Wymberley Jones DeRenne, Address—Post Office, Savannah, Georgia." [16] In his first list he enumerated twenty-nine printed items and fifteen maps—all colonial. In his second list he wanted "Early Publications," twenty-five in number, again most of them colonial, but a few Revolutionary, and one as late as 1805. He added to his list this note: "Please report: as this list is sent to all prominent dealers."

To indicate to his friends and to any others interested and for his own satisfaction and pride of ownership, De Renne in 1905 published in folio a catalogue of *Books Relating to the History of Georgia of Wymberley Jones DeRenne, of Wormsloe, Isle of Hope, Chatham County, Georgia.* In its 74 pages were listed more than 500 items over a wide range of time and subject matter, but mostly before 1800. The work evidently was not done by a trained bibliographer, as various kinds of information were omitted, such as the publishers. In 1911 he issued a much larger and more complete catalogue, also in folio, compiled and annotated by Oscar Wegelin. This catalogue contained 265 pages of listings and 18 pages of an index. The frontispiece was a picture of his Library building and included were 33 facsimiles of title pages, the signers of the Permanent Confederate Constitution, and the family coat of arms. A rough estimate of the number of items in this catalogue would be about 2,500.

During the remainder of his life, the next five years, he made

many outstanding additions. In early 1916 shortly before his death he urged the well-known bibliographer and part-time resident of Savannah, Leonard L. Mackall, to take charge of his library and supervise the making of a new catalogue. This was a stupendous undertaking as each item was to be described in the most complete and critical fashion according to the approved style of the bibliographers' science and art. America's entry into the First World War intervened and this work was not completed and the results published until 1931—fifteen years after the death of the architect of this great collection. It was published in three beautiful large volumes, slightly less than folio, containing more than 1,400 pages. The frontispiece was a reproduction of a painting by Gari Melchers, done in 1915, of "Wymberley Jones De Renne, Born 1853, Died 1916." Included also were 117 illustrations, almost all being facsimiles of title pages. About 4,000 items were listed and described, books, pamphlets, newspapers, maps and plans, and engravings. With one or two exceptions, no manuscripts were included, apart from a general description in the preface.

This was a library of Georgiana primarily, with emphasis on the colonial period; but still there was a wealth of material on the Confederacy. As his manuscripts were never classified except in a few instances, they were merely mentioned in the preface of the catalogue. In this field of materials he had the original manuscript of the Permanent Confederate Constitution, on vellum, which his mother had bought. A notable collection of Confederate manuscripts was composed of the confidential letters and telegrams from General Lee to President Davis. De Renne invited Douglas Southall Freeman to edit these for publication, and they appeared in 1915 under the title, *Lee's Dispatches: Unpublished Letters of General Robert E. Lee, C. S. A., to Jefferson Davis and the War Department of the Confederate States of America, 1862–65.*[17] Besides his books and pamphlets on the Confederacy, De Renne made a minor collection of Confederate music and a small amount of Confederate paper money. As for other manuscripts, he assembled a large mass of General Nathanael Greene's Revolutionary correspondence, "besides in-

numerable other letters written by prominent men, many being of great interest," covering "the whole period of Georgia history," but few after the Civil War.[18]

Of the books and pamphlets, many were of extreme rarity. His map collection was judged to be the most complete on Georgia in existence. He secured a great many newspapers, the longest files being the *Georgia Gazette* (in facsimile), the Augusta *Chronicle,* the Milledgeville *Georgia Journal,* the Milledgeville *Federal Union,* the Augusta *Daily Chronicle & Sentinel,* and the Atlanta *Southern Confederacy.*

To house this remarkable collection he completed in 1907 his Library building, of beautiful classical design, located on the grounds of Wormsloe, surrounded by ancient live oaks draped in Spanish moss. This "building and its contents were to him almost a Holy of Holies." Here he could enjoy his treasuries, knowing that they were safe from destruction; but he was not selfish with his literary possessions. They were always open to the serious scholar and researcher, and likewise his home where he entertained his literary visitors.

The true bibliophile is not likely to be much if in anywise interested in himself writing for publication. It is for him to make his collection, to indulge his zest for acquisition, to arrange what he has found, and to dress up his items in dignified and appropriate garb. De Renne had a great appreciation of fine bindings and some of his most treasured pieces were bound in England. In his 1905 catalogue, he noted that the "Books & Pamphlets are all well bound. . . . Some very handsomely." In the words of one who knew him so well, "he tried hard to keep himself in the background, just as he was also extremely reluctant to appear in print, for he wished his really wonderful Collection to speak for itself." [19]

De Renne wrote even less for publication than did his father. If he had been asked to make a bibliography of his writings, he would probably have denied that there was a single item which he could list. Yet he did write something, for instance, the prefaces to some of the works he published, like the *Removal of the Cherokee Indians,* and reports he made to the Georgia

Historical Society, when he was chairman of the Committee on Printing and Publishing. He wrote the short sketches on Noble Jones and George Jones, which appeared in Northen's *Men of Mark in Georgia,*[20] and he brought out in 1909 a brochure entitled *A Short History of the Confederate Constitutions of the Confederate States of America, 1861–1899.* It can scarcely be said that he wrote this, for of the four pages of print, he was the author of only twenty-three lines, the rest being quoted from three sources.

On his return from France in 1891, De Renne decided to live at Wormsloe, to enjoy the scenes of his childhood but scenes which had only been happy memories for almost thirty years. After the death of his sister Letitia, Wormsloe had come into the trusteeship of the Pennsylvania Company and never in his lifetime could Wymberley Jones De Renne become the legal master of Wormsloe, though he became so in fact. He arranged with the trustees to become a tenant, paying a rental into the estate left by his father George Wymberley Jones De Renne, in the keeping of the Pennsylvania Company.

De Renne now began to beautify the grounds by adding plants and shrubs, and running walkways here and there. The old avenue from the house to the Savannah road, which his father had developed, had fallen into disuse as indeed had almost everything else around Wormsloe, for during the preceding ten years it had not been occupied. Rather than repair this old avenue, De Renne created an entirely new one, and along the sides he planted live oaks which in their fast growth, within a few years, formed an arched canopy completely across the passageway, draped with great festoons of Spanish moss. Some years later he dedicated at the entrance to the avenue on the Savannah road a stone arch. But he never did anything to make the house on the estate reflect the dignity of its surroundings or the glory of the traditions of the generations which had lived there, and it goes without saying that neither had those past generations done so. He probably added a few more gables or wings to it and helped to make possible this description of it in 1937: "The present day house is an old gray frame build-

ing looking as if its rambling lines had emerged from some mystery tale. Through the years changes of wings, little porches, chimneys and other details have almost obliterated the original house. Forty rooms, some closed and dusty, look through varisized windows out on the ivied walks and trees." The roof of the house was "quaintly railed" with a "tortuous stair" leading up.[21]

Three children came to the Wymberley Jones De Renne family after it removed from Texas, two daughters and a son, but none was born at Wormsloe, or even in Georgia. This fact of birthplace, however, had been true of every master of Wormsloe from the very beginning. The daughters were born in Philadelphia and the son, in Biarritz.

On June 23, 1916 Wymberley Jones De Renne died in New York City at the age of 63. His funeral was held at his Library on the Wormsloe estate, both of which had been so near his heart.[22] He was buried in Bonaventure Cemetery with four generations of his ancestors. He was a man of "very strong and striking personality," [23] and "was one of the state's wealthiest citizens, . . . a very charitable man, but made no display of his gifts." [24] With his means he had promoted in many ways the historical, educational, and literary interests of his state. He was sorely missed by all who knew him. The Georgia Historical Society, mourning the loss of one of its most valuable and distinguished members and Curators, appointed a committee to draw up a suitable memorial.[25]

He had received a bountiful annuity from the estate of his father, and he had himself added much to his fortune. He left to his son the major part of his own estate, including the "Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library," which he stipulated should ultimately go to the University of Georgia, "should my said son die without male issue." He gave the residue of his estate, including the family jewelry and silverware, to his daughters.[26]

As Wymberley Jones De Renne was the last surviving child of George Wymberley Jones De Renne and as the latter's will directed the division of his estate among his grandchildren according to their parents' shares and as there were no grandchil-

dren except Wymberley Jones De Renne's children, they now came into possession of all of their grandfather's estate, which had been administered by the Pennsylvania Company.

This arrangement made the three children equal owners of Wormsloe; but the two daughters in 1917 conveyed their parts of Wormsloe together with Long Island to their brother, Wymberley Wormsloe De Renne, who now became the tenth master of Wormsloe. But in 1929, there came into the succession of Wormsloe a quasi master, a person without flesh and blood but still a person before the law, the Pennsylvania Company of Philadelphia. This was, in fact, a repetition of the situation that had existed during the period when W. J. De Renne had lived at Wormsloe. It was now acting as trustee for the other two children of Wymberley Jones De Renne, Mrs. Craig Barrow (Elfrida De Renne) and Mrs. Stanley Howland (Audrey De Renne). In 1931 Mrs. Barrow, by purchase, acquired the interest of her brother and sister, and now became the twelfth master of Wormsloe. She with her husband Dr. Craig Barrow, an eminent physician and surgeon, took up residence there in 1938.

CHAPTER XVI

Wormsloe Today

WORMSLOE was now more than two hundred years old, the last survivor of the handiwork and dreams of the early Georgians, those who came with Oglethorpe and soon thereafter. Noble Jones's neighbors and acquaintances on the Isle of Hope and in the surrounding regions had built their estates and given them proud names, but time had gnawed them all away. William Stephens's Bewlie lasted for only two generations, disappearing from the family even before the Revolution; Thomas Causton's Ockstead hardly got started; James Habersham's Silk Hope was able at least to outlast the silk industry on which he pinned so many hopes; the Hermitage, Mulberry Grove, All Honey—all passed on to be recalled only in historical records.

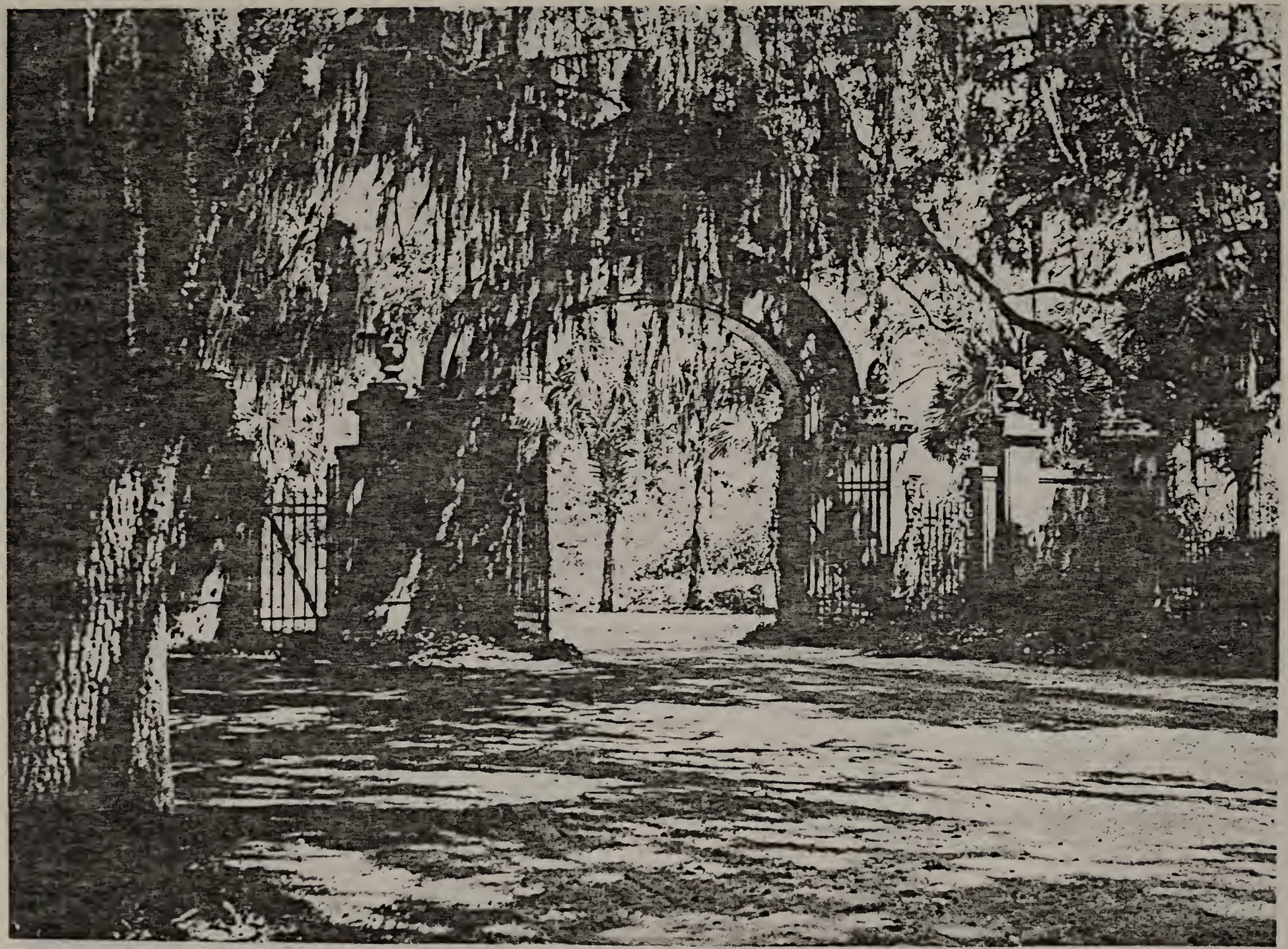
But Wormsloe continued. With the passing of two centuries and more, the six generations of Joneses-De Rennes, who had provided twelve masters of the estate, had done no permanent violence to what nature had made of Wormsloe. Had Edward Kimber come back to Georgia now and have passed along Jones's Narrows he would no doubt have recognized Wormsloe estate and described it with the same rapturous enthusiasm, but in twentieth century language instead of his charming eighteenth-century style, which he used when he came this way in 1743.

He would have floated on the same "contented Current" and he would have seen the "lofty Oak . . . clad in Robes of antique Moss," "the towering ever-green Pine," and "the triumphant laurel." The "timorous Deer" still tripped across the glades after perchance swimming from Skidaway to the Isle of Hope, and the "nimble Squirrel" still skipped from tree to

tree. Also the "wonderful Possum" scurried across the roadways at night, now speeded up or petrified on the spot by the glare of automobile lights; the "squeaking raccoon" continued to fish for oysters; and the glittering fire-flies as always looked like glow-worms floating through the night air. The "prowling wolf" and the "discontented Bear" no longer disturbed the neighborhood; but "Sand-Flies, Muskettos, and other Vermin," such as "Wood-Ticks," continued to hold sway in their appointed seasons.

Wormsloe was now 850 acres wide, 150 acres short of what Noble Jones had made it. Nature was more rampant than when he had left it in 1775. Land that was once planted in rice and long-staple cotton was now grown up in great pine trees. Some parts of the estate had never been disturbed by man and were now perchance hospitably supporting some of those same great oaks which Kimber had seen, and virgin pines, too. The ruins of old Fort Wimberly were moss-covered and only by the restraining hand of man were they constantly being rescued from encroaching nature. Near-by, the ancient burying-ground of the Joneses, surrounded by an iron fence, was marked by the great stone now so covered with lichens as almost to obliterate the inscriptions. The only remaining slave-house was being rescued from disintegration, that it might still serve to mark an historic era and afford a week-end house for the family of a great-great-great-great-grandson of Noble Jones. The white Grecian-temple-like Library building, devoid of the priceless collection of books it once protected, in its dignity still faced the waters to the eastward as the breezes rustled the leaves of the palms in front.

By now the mansion house, near-by, had been given a new look, which made it serve better the heritage of six generations who had lived in it. Turrets and towers and railings of the Victorian era had given way to dignified simplicity. Now with its tall front columns, it better harmonized with the great oaks, whose limbs supported their wisps of Spanish moss, and whose trunks were clothed with climbing ivy, except where the deer, not so timorous, were able to nibble. With its beautiful but unobtrusive landscaping and well-kept walkways, its ancient

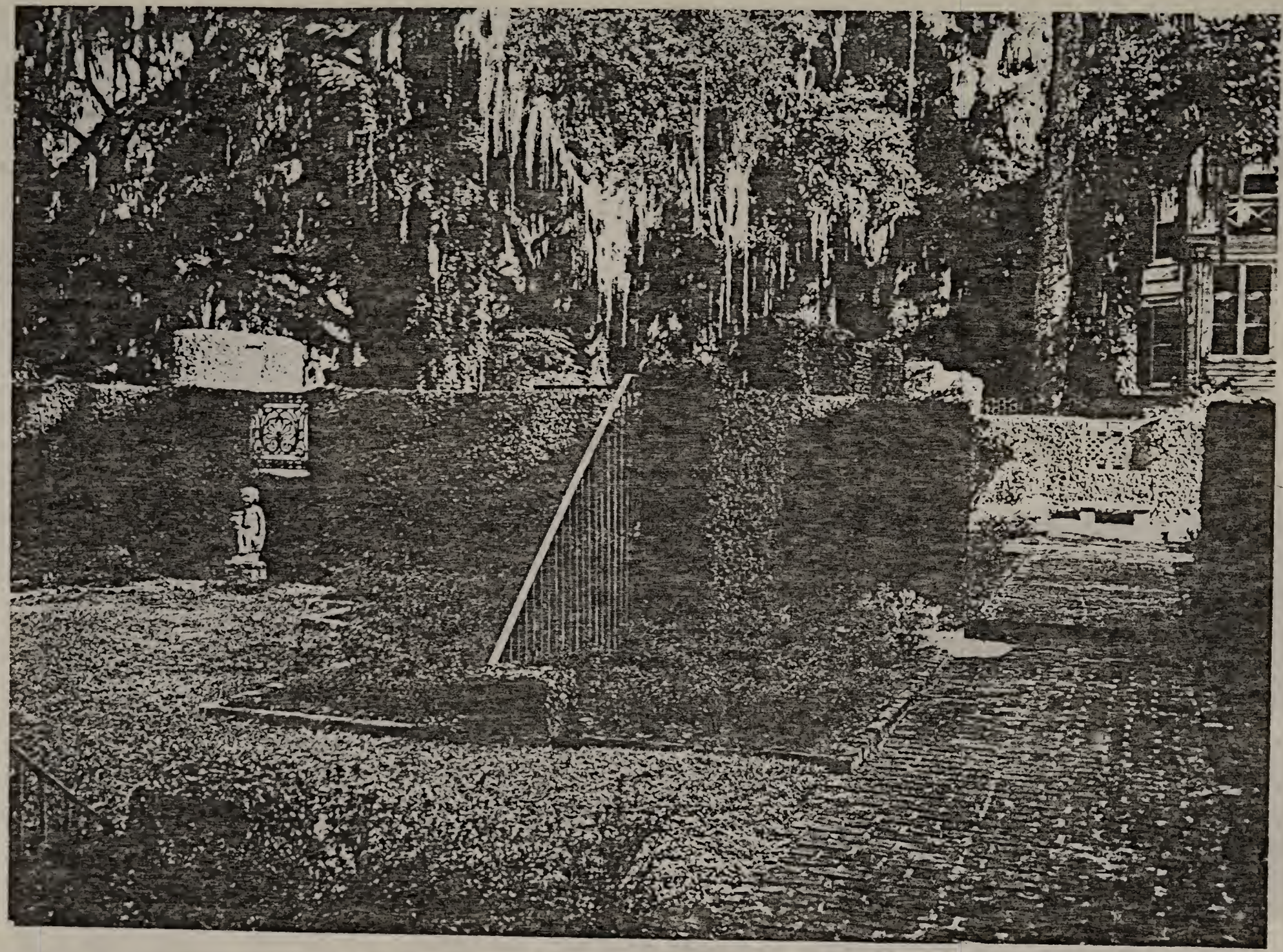


ENTRANCE TO WORMSLOE

Mile-long Avenue of Live Oaks

Approach to Wormsloe House

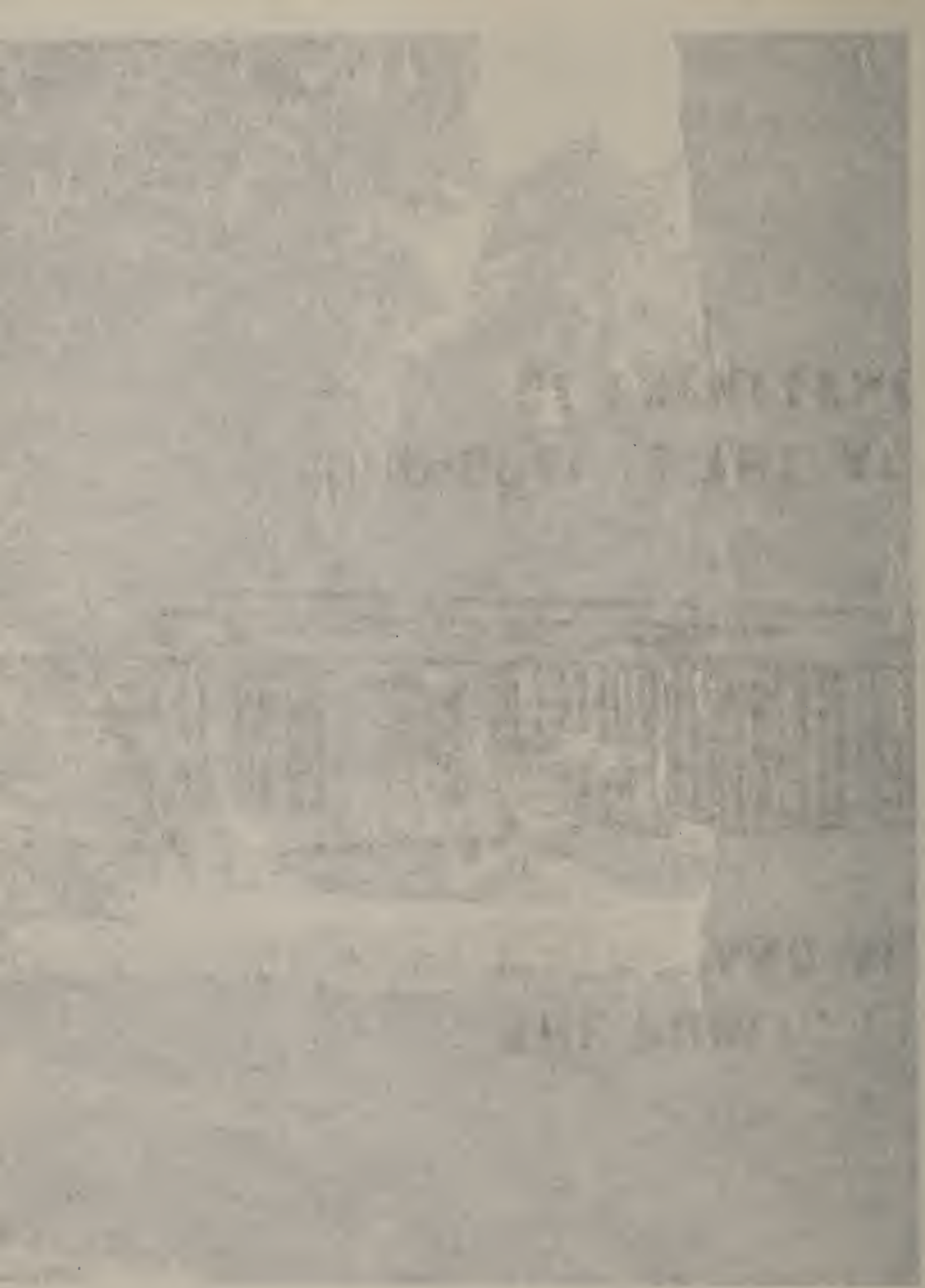
Wormsloe House



MORNING SUNLIGHT IN THE WALLED GARDENS

LOOKING TOWARD SKIDAWAY ISLAND

A Vista Leading to the Old Avenue



THE OLD AVENUE

majestic oaks and many blooming shrubs, all blending into a half-wild, half-tame splendor, Wormsloe estate bore gracefully its years, occupied by a representative of the sixth generation out of England, a great-great-great-granddaughter of Noble Jones.

Notes

[1–4]

Numbers in brackets at the top of the following pages indicate the pages in the text to which these notes refer.

CHAPTER I

1. *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont. Diary of Viscount Percival. Afterwards First Earl of Egmont* (3 vols., London, 1920–1923), I, 370.
2. Albert B. Saye, *New Viewpoints in Georgia History* (Athens, Ga., 1943), 31.
3. E. Merton Coulter, ed., "A List of the First Shipload of Georgia Settlers," in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXI (1947), 285–86.
4. Joseph G. Bulloch, *A History and Genealogy of the Families of Bulloch, Stobo, De Veaux, Irvine, Douglass, Baillie, Lewis, Adams, Glen, Jones, Davis, Hunter, with a Genealogy of Branches of the Habersham, King, Stiles, Footman, Newell, Turner, Stewart, Dunwody, Elliott, with Mention of the Families of Bryan, Bourke, Williams, Wylly, Woodbridge, and many other Families* (Savannah, 1892), 119. Nothing is known of the Jones family in Lambeth Parish, but a quaint account of places of amusement in this parish about 1750 noted, "The entertainments were fire works, illuminations, and music, especially some admirable performances on the harp by one Jones." John Aikin, et al., *The History of the Environs of London, Containing an Historical and Topographical Account of Every Thing that is Interesting and Curious in all the Towns, Villages, and Country, within Twenty-Five Miles of the Metropolis* (London, 1811), 121.
5. "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life, Savannah 2d June, 1805 [by George Jones to John Grimes]" (a manuscript in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, Hodgson Hall, Savannah.)
6. "Journal of Colonel William Stephens, Secretary to the Board of Trustees at Savannah," in Allen D. Candler, ed., *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (26 vols., Atlanta, 1908–1916), IV Supplement, 118.
7. The age of Noble Jones at his death is recorded as 73 on his tombstone in Bonaventure Cemetery, in Savannah. As he died in 1775, calculations would indicate that he was born in 1702. The passenger list of the *Anne*, on which he sailed for Georgia in 1732, gives his age as 32. This would indicate that he was born in 1700. For the meagre information on Jones's life in England before coming to Georgia, see "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life"; Charleston (S.C.) *Times*, January 15, 1805; William Harden, *A History of Savannah and South Georgia* (2 vols., Chicago, 1913), II, 534; Dr. John Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IV (1920), 21; William J. Northen, ed., *Men of Mark in Georgia* (7 vols., Atlanta, 1907–1912), I, 195. Wymberley Jones De Renne, a great-great-grandson of Noble Jones, wrote the sketch of Jones which appears in the last-mentioned work. For an excellent discussion of the Oglethorpe

family see, Amos Aschbach Ettinger, *James Edward Oglethorpe, Imperial Idealist* (Oxford, England, 1936), *passim*.

8. "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life," 2, 7; Harden, *Savannah and South Georgia,* II, 533.
9. The English adopted officially the Gregorian calendar in 1752. This involved dropping ten days and changing the beginning of the year from March 25 to January 1.
10. Charles C. Jones, Jr., *The History of Georgia* (2 vols., Boston, 1883), I, 156–60.
11. Thomas Christie to James Edward Oglethorpe, December 14, 1734, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection (21 volumes bearing serial numbers 14200 to 14220 inclusive, in the University of Georgia Library), Ser. No. 14200, p. 146. These manuscripts have been typed, and page references in this work are to the typed copies.
12. Joseph Fitzwalter to "Hond. Sir," January 16, 1735, *ibid.*, 174.
13. Pat. Tailfer, Hugh Anderson, Da. Douglas, and others, *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America, from the First Settlement thereof until this Present Period; Containing the most Authentic Facts, Matters, and Transactions therein . . .* (Charles-Town, S.C., 1741), iii.
14. John Fallowfield to Trustees, January 1, 1741, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14205, p. 182.
15. John Terry to Harman Verelst, December 7, 1741, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14206, p. 58.
16. Harman Verelst to Andrew Duché, July 14, 1739, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14210, p. 74.
17. Earl of Egmont to Oglethorpe, February 18, 1743, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14213, p. 60.
18. William Best, *The Merit and Reward of a Good Intention. A Sermon Preached before the Honourable Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, . . . at their Anniversary Meeting, March 18. 1741–2. . . . In which Some Notice is taken of a Late Abusive Pamphlet, intituled, A True and Historical Narrative in the said Colony* (London, 1742), 17.
19. Tailfer et al., *True and Historical Narrative,* xiii.
20. *Ibid.*, ii.
21. *Ibid.*, 82.
22. [Thomas Stephens], *The Castle-Builders; or, the History of William Stephens, of the Isle of Wight, Esq; lately Deceased. A Political Novel* (London, 1759), 102.
23. [William Stephens], *A State of the Province of Georgia, Attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November 10, 1740* (London, 1742), 15–16.
24. Statement to the Trustees by Patrick Tailfer, David Douglas, et al., December 2, 1740, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14205, p. 177.
25. E. Merton Coulter and Albert B. Saye, eds., *A List of the Early Settlers of Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1949), 98, 72, respectively.
26. Stephens's journal, January 2, 1745, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14219, p. 662.
27. Stephens's journal, August 18, 1742, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14218, p. 181.
28. Stephens's journal, February 5, 1745, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14219, p. 678.
29. Stephens to Trustees, December 31, 1741, in Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XXIII, 184.
30. Stephens's journal, October 29, 1742, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14218, p. 204.
31. Egmont's journal, March 17, 1743, in Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* V, 685.
32. Stephens to Trustees, November 27, 1740, *ibid.*, XXII, Part II, 450.
33. Benjamin Martyn to Gov. Robert Johnson of South Carolina, January 24, 1733, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14207, p. 15.

34. A comparison of the difficulties in establishing Virginia with those in Georgia, January 23, 1739, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14209, p. 188.
35. See Coulter, ed., "A List of the First Shipload of Georgia Settlers."
36. Coulter and Saye, eds., *List of the Early Settlers of Georgia,* xii.
37. Egmont's defense of Georgia, December 11, 1739, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14210, p. 129.
38. John Burton, *The Duty and Reward of Propagating Principles of Religion and Virtue Exemplified in the History of Abraham. A Sermon Preach'd before the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America . . . at their Anniversary-Meeting . . . March 15, 1732* [1733] (London, 1733), 30.
39. Thomas Causton to Trustees, February 19, 1741, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14205, p. 189.
40. Stephens's journal, July 20, 1744, *ibid.,* Ser. No. 14219, p. 573.
41. Benjamin Martyn to Oglethorpe, April 2, 1739, *ibid.,* Ser. No. 14210, p. 1.
42. Stephens's journal, October 4, 1743, *ibid.,* Ser. No. 14219, p. 415.
43. [Thomas Stephens,] *A Brief Account of the Causes that have Retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, in America; Attested upon Oath. Being a Proper Contrast to a State of the Province of Georgia. Attested upon Oath; and Some Other Misrepresentations on the Same Subject* (London, 1743), 8.
44. It was possible for one person to hold as much as 2,000 acres if got through inheritance.

CHAPTER II

1. For incidental references to Noble Jones's Savannah residence, see Savannah *Georgia Gazette,* June 22 (6–1), 1768; December 27 (2–2), 1769. The numbers in parentheses indicate the page and column respectively.
2. "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," in *The London Magazine and Monthly Chronologer,* November, 1745, pp. 549–51. A faithful reprinting of these Kimber articles may be found in "Itinerant Observations in America," in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, 1878), IV, 64pp.
3. *London Magazine,* November, 1745, p. 552.
4. Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1841–2; with Geological Observations on the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia* (2 vols., New York, 1845), I, 130.
5. Charles C. Jones, Jr., *The Georgia Historical Society: Its Founders, Patrons, and Friends. Anniversary Address Delivered in Hodgson Hall, on the 14th of February, 1881* (Savannah, 1881), 26.
6. Tailfer et al., *True and Historical Narrative,* 105. Egmont in his journal used the same expression, adopting it doubtless from Tailfer's book. See Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* V, 531.
7. *London Magazine,* December, 1745, p. 603.
8. The quotation in the previous sentence is from Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* IV, 619. As for the origin of the name Isle of Hope, it was most likely suggested by Noble Jones; and it is possible that it was not a salute to the future but was, in fact, a reminiscence of the past—in other words, a name which Jones brought over from England. There was a town in Essex called Stanford le Hope to distinguish it from the other Stanford. Le Hope was a sort of bay or winding of the Thames some distance up from its mouth, and it was given that name by the sailors "because they find it a safe anchoring place," after having passed the "dangers of the Goodwin and other sands near the mouth of the Thames: they have taken the name from the cable

belonging to the anchor, which they term Hope." There is another place in Essex nearby called "Hopes Gr." These names might well have been familiar to Noble Jones, who lived not far away in Surrey. Aikin, *History of the Environs of London,* 581. See map of Essex, *ibid.,* opposite page 20.

9. *Ibid.,* II, 461.
10. *Ibid.,* VI, 340.
11. *Ibid.,* XVIII, 272–77; Jones, *History of Georgia,* I, 487–88. See also Act of November 24, in *Acts Passed by the General Assembly of Georgia, 1755–1774* (Wormsloe, 1881), 188–89.
12. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VII, 311, 444. Three of Noble Jones's tracts of land are listed on William de Brahm's *A Map of South Carolina and a Part of Georgia . . .* (London, 1757). According to the terms of the land system as set forth in this deed, Jones must pay a quit rent of two shillings per hundred acres annually, and within three years he must clear three acres out of every fifty acres of arable land and work it; and drain three acres of marsh land for every fifty acres; and he must keep three head of cattle or six sheep or goats on every fifty acres of pasture land; and for land good for neither cultivation nor pasture he must within three years begin to dig rock or coal or engage in other mining operations for three years. "One good and able hand" for every hundred acres would be accounted a sufficient cultivation and improvement. See Deed Book 4 R, pp. 114–16, in Chatham County Archives, County Courthouse, Savannah, Georgia.
13. Albert B. Saye, ed., "Commission and Instructions of Governor John Reynolds, August 6, 1754," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXX (1946), 149–52.
14. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VIII, 383–84, 550, 734.
15. *Ibid.,* IX, 96. See Deed Book 4 R, p. 116, in Chatham County Archives, County Courthouse, Savannah.
16. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* X, 400.
17. *Ibid.,* 516.
18. *Ibid.,* XII, 56–57, 95, 131, 312.
19. *Ibid.,* 192, 216.
20. See Ossabaw Island Quadrangle Sheet of the War Department Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army.
21. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* IV Supp., 174; Jones, *History of Georgia,* I, 148; Lucian Lamar Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials and Legends* (2 vols., Atlanta, 1913, 1914), I, 87–88. The quotation is from Tailfer et al., *True and Historical Narrative,* 105. Egmont in his journal used a little different wording but undoubtedly got the idea from Tailfer's book, and it is surprising that he fell into Tailfer's malicious attitude. He said that the fort was to support Jones and "to prevent the poor people of Frederica from escaping to other places where they may get bread." Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* V, 531–32.
22. *Ibid.,* IV, 652.
23. Causton to Trustees, February 19, 1741, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14205, p. 206.
24. *London Magazine,* November, 1745, p. 552.
25. *Ibid.* This road is clearly marked on Lieutenant Colonel Campbell's map published in 1780 entitled *Sketch of the Northern Frontiers of Georgia, Extending from the Mouth of the River Savannah to the Town of Augusta.* By Archibald Campbell, Lieut. Col. 71st Regt. Engraved by Willm. Faden, Charing Cross, 1780.
26. *Georgia Gazette,* July 11 (2–1), 1765.
27. Francis Harper, ed., *Diary of a Journey through the Carolinas, Georgia, and*

Florida from July 1, 1765 to April 10, 1766. John Bartram in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge* (Philadelphia, 1942), New Series, Vol. XXXIII, Part I, 30, 66.

28. Jones, *History of Georgia*, I, 377–78; Coulter and Saye, eds., *List of the Early Settlers of Georgia*, 71.
29. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XXIII, 157.
30. Stephens's journal, February 11, July 5, 1745, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14219, pp. 681, 724.
31. Habersham to Benjamin Martyn, December 19, 1750, in Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XXVI, 93.
32. Habersham to Martyn, January 25, March 4, 1751, *ibid.*, 145, 176–77.
33. Causton to Trustees, December 1, 1741, *ibid.*, XXIII, 158.
34. Whitefield to "Mr. Newman," June 20, 1740, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection. Ser. No. 14205, p. 4.
35. Franklin to Noble W. Jones, October 7, 1772, in Elfrida De Renne Barrow Collection.
36. Stephens's journal, February 23, 1739, in Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, IV, 287.
37. Stephens's journal, 1742, 1743, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14218, *passim*.
38. For exports, see *Georgia Gazette*, July 19, 1764, April 15, 1767, or at the end of any other quarter. As an example of shipbuilding timbers for sale, see advertisement by Inigo Jones, *ibid.*, August 2 (3–1), 1769, relating to his supplies on Skidaway Island.
39. Causton to Trustees, January 16, 1734, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14200, p. 186.
40. Benjamin Martyn to British Treasury, July 31, 1735, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14208, p. 12; Harman Verelst to William Stephens, July 14, 1739, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14210, p. 48.
41. Henry Myers to "Mr. Beasent," May 7, 1741, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14205, p. 237.
42. *Ibid.*, Ser. No. 14213, p. 31.
43. Coulter and Saye, eds., *List of the Early Settlers of Georgia*, 73.
44. Causton to Trustees, December 1, 1741, in Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XXIII, 159.
45. Harman Verelst to Causton, August 7, 1735, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14208, p. 16; Ser. No. 14211, p. 75; Stephens's journal, February 13, 1739, in Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, IV, 278.
46. Harman Verelst to Thomas Jones, July 11, 1740, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14211, p. 2; Oglethorpe to Trustees, December 29, 1739, in "Letters from General Oglethorpe," in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, 1873); III, 103; Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, II, 327–28; Jones to Oglethorpe, July 6, 1735, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14201, pp. 62–63.
47. *Ibid.*, XXV, 347–50.
48. Causton to Trustees, February 19, 1741, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14205, p. 217.
49. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, I, 56–62; Jones, *History of Georgia*, I, 422–26. Though the Trustees decided in 1749 to allow slavery in Georgia, they did not formulate until 1750 the law repealing the prohibition.
50. The text of the law is given in Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XVIII, 102–44.
51. For the text of these laws, see *ibid.*, 225–35, 649–88; XIX, Pt. I, 209–49. The law cited in the second place was disallowed by the Privy Council.
52. A photographic copy of Noble Jones's will is in Elfrida De Renne Barrow Collection.

53. Harman Verelst to Causton, August 11, 1737, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14209, p. 24.
54. Verelst to Causton, August 22, 1735, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14208, p. 22.
55. Thomas Jones to Joseph Lydes, September 18, 1740, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14205, p. 62.
56. Habersham to Martyn, May 3, 1751, in Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XXVI, 202.
57. Habersham to Martyn, August 7, 1752, *ibid.*, 375.
58. *Ibid.*, VI, 155.
59. *Ibid.*, X, 918; XII, 180, 299.
60. *Georgia Gazette*, January 10 (3–3), 1789.
61. Stephens's journal, September 22, 28, 1743, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14219, pp. 409, 412.
62. Stephens's journal, February 1, 1745, *ibid.*, 676.

CHAPTER III

1. For a description of the government set up by the Trustees, see James Ross McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province. The Execution of a Trust* (Boston, 1917), 57–225; Albert B. Saye, *A Constitutional History of Georgia, 1732–1945* (Athens, 1948), 12–46.
2. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, II, 11.
3. *Ibid.*, 112.
4. *Ibid.*, IV, 46.
5. *Ibid.*, 51.
6. The date was October 21, 1738. Coulter and Saye, eds., *List of the Early Settlers of Georgia*, 26.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14202, p. 1.
9. The name is variously spelled Tomo-Chi-Chi, Tomachichi, and Tomo Chachi, but the first-mentioned spelling is customary.
10. Thomas Causton to Trustees, Savannah, June 20, 1735 in Manuscript Colonial Records of Georgia, XX, 520–21; *Egmont's Diary*, II, 192; Leslie F. Church, *Oglethorpe: A Study of Philanthropy in England and Georgia* (London, 1932), 120–21.
11. Noble Jones to Oglethorpe, July 6, 1735, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14201, p. 61.
12. *Ibid.*, 61–62.
13. *Ibid.*, 62, 63; Manuscript Colonial Records of Georgia, XX, 204–206.
14. Samuel Quincy to Verelst, Savannah, June 28, 1735, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14201, pp. 32–33.
15. *Egmont's Diary*, II, 287; III, 197; Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, V, 464.
16. *Egmont's Diary*, II, 513.
17. *Ibid.*, 313.
18. Samuel Marcer [Mercer] to Trustees, Savannah, April 25, 1735, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14200, p. 319.
19. Coulter and Saye, eds., *List of the Early Settlers of Georgia*, 35.
20. Parker to "Mr. Gordon," Savannah, March 2, 1735, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14200, p. 243.
21. McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Colony*, 261–62.
22. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, IV, 86–87.
23. Coulter and Saye, eds., *List of the Early Settlers of Georgia*, 5.
24. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XXII, Part I, 79–80.
25. *Ibid.*, XXII, Part II, 471.

26. *Ibid.*, IV, 71.
27. Benjamin Martyn, Westminster, to Noble Jones, Savannah, May 15, 1735, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14207, pp. 176–77.
28. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XXI, 321–22, 470.
29. Noble Jones to Trustees, Savannah, July 1, 1735, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14201, pp. 35–42.
30. Benjamin Martyn, Westminster, to Thomas Causton, October 28, 1734, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14207, p. 104; *Egmont's Diary*, II, 189.
31. Benjamin Martyn, Westminster, to Thomas Causton, January 25, 1735, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14207, p. 115.
32. Benjamin Martyn, Westminster, to Thomas Causton, August 3, 1737, in Manuscript Colonial Records of Georgia, XXIX, 407. The date is erroneously given as August 3, 1738, in the copy of this letter in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14209, p. 10.
33. Benjamin Martyn, Westminster, to Thomas Causton, March 7, 1737, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14208, p. 154.
34. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, II, 226.
35. *Ibid.*, IV, 214; Coulter and Saye, eds., *List of the Early Settlers of Georgia*, 26.
36. *An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary von Reck . . . and of the Reverend Mr. Bolzius* (London, 1734), 19.
37. Benjamin Martyn, Westminster, to Bolzius, June 10, 1736, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14208, p. 93; *Egmont's Diary*, II, 357.
38. Benjamin Martyn, Westminster, to Thomas Causton, January 25, 1735, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14207, p. 115.
39. Document dated Savannah, June 14, 1736, *ibid.*, Ser. No. 14202, p. 4; Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XXI, 481.
40. *Ibid.*, VI, 341; II, 510; I, 556. See also Jones, *History of Georgia*, I, 434; McCain, *Georgia as a Proprietary Province*, 259.
41. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, VII, 291.
42. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 87–88, 90, 728. Jones was reappointed in 1773 with instructions to call upon all adult male whites, slaves, and free Negroes to work on these roads.

CHAPTER IV

1. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, IV, 121.
2. Oglethorpe, Frederica, to William Stephens, Savannah, February 1, 1740, *ibid.*, XXII, Part II, 312–16. This letter also appears in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III, 105–108.
3. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, IV, 638.
4. Oglethorpe, Frederica, to Egmont, January 25, 1741 in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14205, p. 133.
5. Oglethorpe, Frederica, to James Vernon, January 26, 1741, *ibid.*, 144.
6. Henry Myers, Frederica, to "Mr. Beasent," London, May 7, 1741, *ibid.*, 237.
7. Thomas Hawkins, Frederica, to "Mr. Martin," August 9, 1740, *ibid.*, 52.
8. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, IV, 638; *ibid.*, Supplement, 32, 56.
9. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, IV, 637, 638. Jones probably built this watch-house, guard-house, or fort sometime in early 1739, for Oglethorpe paid him £40 in the latter part of that year for building such a structure. The Trustees hesitated to meet their obligation to Oglethorpe until they could find out where the watch-house had been built. It is logical to assume that the watch-house under consideration was the one built on the Narrows near Wormsloe, though no record has been found which makes a definite state-

ment of that fact. The tabby ruins that exist there today probably date back only to the French and Indian War, when the defenses of Georgia were being strengthened. The fort built there in 1739 was of timber; but, of course, tabby construction was being used then, for the fortifications at Frederica were of that material, important remnants of which are still in existence. See Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* II, 317; Harman Verelst, Westminster, to Thomas Jones, March 29, 1740, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14210, p. 202.

10. *Ibid.,* 651.
11. *Ibid.,* 652.
12. *Ibid.,* 655.
13. Statement of Charges for 1739–1740, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14210, p. 64.
14. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* IV, Supplement, 14, 16.
15. *Ibid.,* 16–17.
16. *Ibid.,* 91–92.
17. *Ibid.,* 92–93.
18. *Ibid.,* 212.
19. Thomas Jones, Savannah, to Oglethorpe, March 18, 1741, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14205, p. 272.
20. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* IV, Supplement, 166.
21. For instances, see *ibid.,* 235, 241, 262.
22. See Jones, *History of Georgia,* I, 342.
23. *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,* III, 139.
24. Of the various accounts of the Spanish invasion, see Jones, *History of Georgia,* I, 348; *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,* I, 276–84; III, 133–40; Oglethorpe to Trustees, July 9, 1742, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14206, pp. 104–105. The Trustees may have received this document from Oglethorpe, but it is evident that he did not write it or purport to have done so.
25. Edward Kimber, *A Relation or Journal of a Late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine on Florida, Conducted by the Hon. General James Oglethorpe with a Detachment of his Regiment, etc. from Georgia* (reprint, Boston, 1935), 5–6.
26. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* V, 659, 687.
27. George Jones, "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life," 5; James Thacher, *American Medical Biography: or Memoirs of Eminent Physicians who have Flourished in America. To which is Prefixed a Succinct History of Medical Science in the United States, from the First Settlement of the Country* (Boston, 1828), I, 341; Northen, ed., *Men of Mark in Georgia,* I, 195.
28. Journal of William Stephens, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14219, pp. 574–75.
29. *Ibid.,* 548, 549, 712, 778.
30. *Ibid.,* 677, 733.
31. *Ibid.,* 678, 770–71.
32. *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,* IV, 19–20.

CHAPTER V

1. This journal beginning October 20, 1737 and continuing to October 28, 1741 was first published in three volumes in London in 1742 under the title *A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia, Beginning October 20, 1737.* It was reprinted as Volume IV (1906) and Volume IV Supplement (1908) of *The Colo-*

nial Records of the State of Georgia. The remainder of the journal continuing down to December 31, 1745 has never been published. A manuscript copy of it is in the Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection (Serial Numbers 14217–14219), in the Library of the University of Georgia.

2. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* II, 367, 368. For the Constitution of the County of Savannah, see Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14211, pp. 41 ff.
3. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* II, 408.
4. Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14209, p. 26.
5. Sam. Eveleigh to Oglethorpe, October 19, 1734, *ibid.,* Ser. No. 14200, p. 112.
6. *Ibid.,* Ser. No. 14211, pp. 68, 69.
7. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VI, 332–33.
8. *Ibid.,* 343.
9. *Ibid.,* I, 555.
10. Thomas Stephens, *Castle-Builders,* 127–28.
11. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* I, 548–49; II, 509. For the journals of the meetings of the President and Assistants during the time Jones was a member, see *ibid.,* VI, 345–461; *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXV (1951) 323–50; XXXVI (1952), 46–70. After Parker's death, his widow continued to live on the Isle of Hope for many years, not dying until 1787. *Georgia Gazette,* April 19, 1787.
12. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XXIII, 350.
13. Stephens's journal, August 7, 1744, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, Ser. No. 14219, p. 581.
14. *Ibid.,* 731–32.
15. For an account of Mary Musgrove, see E. Merton Coulter, "Mary Musgrove, 'Queen of the Creeks': A Chapter of Early Georgia Troubles," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XI (1927), 1–30.
16. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VI, 270–71.
17. *Ibid.,* 274.
18. *Ibid.,* 279.
19. *Ibid.,* XXVI, 27.
20. Lilla M. Hawes, ed., "Proceedings of the President and Assistants in Council of Georgia, 1749–1751," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXV (1951), 347.
21. *Ibid.,* XXXVI (1952), 55–56.
22. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XXVI, 165.
23. *Ibid.,* II, 505; XXVI, 108.
24. *Ibid.,* XXVI, 110.
25. *Ibid.,* 116, 226, 234, 322, 347.
26. Jones, *History of Georgia,* I, 459–60.
27. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XXVI, 274.
28. *Ibid.,* 327.
29. For an abbreviated form of the minutes of this Assembly, see Hawes, ed., "Proceedings of the President and Assistants in Council of Georgia, 1749–1751," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXV (1951), 327–32.
30. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* II, 513.
31. *Ibid.,* I, 569–78; II, 506, 513–25.

CHAPTER VI

1. For the minutes and proceedings of the Governor and Council and for the journals of the Upper House of Assembly, see Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VII–XII, XVI, XVII and Lilla M. Hawes, ed., "The Proceedings and

Minutes of the Governor and Council of Georgia, October 4, 1774 through November 7, 1775 and September 6, 1779 through September 20, 1780," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXIV (1950), 203–26, 288–312. See also Stevens, *History of Georgia,* I, 388; *Georgia Gazette,* November 24 (3–1), 1763.

2. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VII, 40; XII, 213; XIX, Part I, 190; *Georgia Gazette,* November 3 (3–2), 1763; January 21 (3–1), 1765; July 4 (3–1), 1765; December 24 (2–2), 1766; December 7 (2–2), 1768.
3. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VII, 537.
4. Quoted in Harden, *History of Savannah and South Georgia,* II, 537.
5. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VII, 504; VIII, 63, 425, 498, 701; IX, 179, 459; X, 428; *Georgia Gazette,* February 21 (3–2), 1773.
6. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VIII, 266; XIV, 182; *Georgia Gazette,* May 5 (4–4), 1763; January 19 (1–1), 1764; January 10 (3–2), 1765.
7. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VI, 460–61.
8. *Ibid.,* VII, 13.
9. For some of the details of the dispute see *ibid.,* 252–68.
10. *Ibid.,* VI, 353.
11. *Ibid.,* 357.
12. *Ibid.,* XXVI, 202, 279–80; Hawes, ed., "Proceedings of the President and Assistants in Council of Georgia, 1749–1751," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXV (1951), 349; *ibid.,* XXXVI (1952), 57–59.
13. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* I, 561–62.
14. Manuscript Colonial Records of Georgia, XXVII, 580.
15. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VII, 450.
16. *Ibid.,* VII, 485, 909; VIII, 190, 192.
17. Manuscript Colonial Records of Georgia, XXVIII, Part I, 260; Northen, ed., *Men of Mark in Georgia,* I, 202–203.
18. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XVIII, 205, 413, 423, 475, 646.
19. *Ibid.,* 300.
20. Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, No. 14207, p. 128; *ibid.,* No. 14208 p. 156.
21. *Ibid.,* No. 14209, p. 121.
22. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* IV Supplement, 118, 124.
23. Stephens's journal in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, No. 14218, p. 83.
24. *Ibid.,* No. 14217, pp. 26–27.
25. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XIX, Part I, 83–89; *Georgia Gazette,* January 18 (2–2), 1769.
26. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XII, 188; XVII, 676.
27. *Ibid.,* XVIII, 793.
28. *Ibid.,* VII, 21, 25, 32.
29. *Ibid.,* XVIII, 390.
30. *Ibid.,* 578; *Georgia Gazette,* July 18 (3–1), 1765.
31. Stephens's journal in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, No. 14219, pp. 776–77; Reba C. Strickland, *Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1939), 91.
32. "Publick Instructions to the President of the County of Savannah," April 20, 1741, by Trustees, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, No. 14211, p. 64.
33. Harman Verelst, Westminster, to Stephens, June 11, 1740, *ibid.,* 9.
34. Coulter and Saye, eds., *List of the Early Settlers of Georgia,* 23.
35. *Ibid.,* 42.
36. *Ibid.,* 56–57.

37. *Ibid.*, 38.
38. Benjamin Martyn, Westminster, to Stephens, May 10, 1743, in Egmont Manuscripts in Phillipps Collection, No. 14213, p. 131.
39. *Georgia Gazette,* April 18 (2–2), 1765; April 22 (3–1), 1767; March 29 (3–1), 1769; April 18 (2–2), 1770; May 17 (2–2), 1775.
40. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XVIII, 258–72.
41. *Georgia Gazette,* December 21 (2–1), 1768; January 18 (2–2), 1769. In 1769 Noble Jones, Noble Wimberly Jones, and the other commissioners called meetings of the people in the parishes of St. Matthews, St. George, St. Johns, St. Andrew, and St. James to elect church wardens and vestrymen and to take the sense of the people at these meetings as to the location of the church, cemetery, and glebe lands in each parish.
42. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XIII, 570.
43. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 570–77.
44. *Ibid.*, 280.
45. *Ibid.*, X, 671; XVIII, 488–93, 745; XIX, Part I, 130–31.
46. Manuscript Colonial Records of Georgia, XXXVIII, Part I, 336.
47. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XVIII, 488–93. By virtue of being a member of the Council, Noble Jones received a set of these laws, and his sons Noble Wimberly and Inigo, sets, as members of the Commons House of Assembly; but in the course of time, as far as is known, all of these laws of Georgia have disappeared except five sets, and among those sets lost are all that were owned by Noble Jones and his two sons. But almost a century and a half later (in 1907) a great-great-grandson of Noble Jones, Wymberley Jones De Renne bought a set of the Georgia acts from 1755 to 1770, which included thirty-four of the thirty-five acts which Noble Jones and the other commissioners had selected for printing and which James Johnston printed in 1763. See *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library . . .* (Wormsloe, 1931), I, 45–65.

CHAPTER VII

1. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VIII, 519, 630; XIV, 51.
2. Manuscript "Family History Compiled by my Father," in Elfrida De Renne Barrow Collection.
3. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VIII, 492–94.
4. For the minutes of the Commons House during this period, see *ibid.*, XIII, 473–84.
5. *Georgia Gazette,* November 8, 1775; Manuscript Colonial Records of Georgia, XXXIX, 41. The minutes of the Council for the year 1775 are apparently not complete, but the last listing of Noble Jones's name in those minutes that have come down is August 15. See Hawes, ed., "The Proceedings and Minutes of the Governor and Council of Georgia, October 4, 1774 through November 7, 1775 and September 6, 1779 through September 20, 1780," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXIV (1950), 301. Noble Jones was probably 75 years old at his death as his age is given at 32 on the passenger list of the persons embarking in 1732 for Georgia. However, the inscription on his tomb (put there in recent times) gives his age as 73. This is the inscription on his tomb in Bonaventure Cemetery:

NOBLE JONES OF WORMSLOE, ESQUIRE
Senior Judge of the General Court
and acting Chief Justice of the Province of Georgia

For twenty-one years member and sometime
President of His Majesty's Council
Colonel of the First Georgia Regiment.
Died Nov. 2d, 1775, aged 73.

Quoted from *Some Early Epitaphs in Georgia, Compiled by the Georgia Society of the Colonial Dames of America, with a foreword and sketches by Mrs. Peter W. Meldrim* (Savannah, 1924), 24.

6. *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III, 220.
7. It is thought that the last burial to take place in this old cemetery was that of Mary Rengil, a daughter of Noble Wimberly Jones, and the wife of Emanuel Rengil, Vice-consul of Spain for North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. She died in 1803. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser*, March 25, 1803. See also, Harden, *History of Savannah and South Georgia*, II, 539.
8. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XIV, 40.
9. Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IV (1920), 31.
10. Photograph of Noble Jones's Will, in Elfrida De Renne Barrow Collection. This is an interesting note on the announcement of the marriage of Sarah Jones, the daughter of Inigo: "Married. Dr. John Love to the amiable Miss Sarah Jones, grand-child of the Hon. Noble Jones Esq deceased, and niece of the Hon Noble Wimberly Jones, Esq Speaker of the Honourable House of Assembly of this state." *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, May 22 (2–3), 1783.
11. *Georgia Gazette*, August 30 (2–2), 1792.
12. Slightly modified advertisements appeared in the *Georgia Gazette*, September 13, October 10, 1781.
13. *Ibid.*, February 18 (2–1), 1796.
14. File Box B, Folio 34 in Ordinary's Office, Chatham County Archives, County Courthouse, Savannah.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Hawes, ed., "Proceedings of the President and Assistants in Council of Georgia, 1749–1751," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (1952), 70.
2. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, VII, 311, 444.
3. Deed Book V, Folio 82, May 7, 1800 in Clerk's Office in Chatham County Archives, County Courthouse, Savannah.
4. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, X, 950–51; XI, 69, 228.
5. *Ibid.*, IX, 227; X, 568; *Republican and Savannah Evening Ledger*, October 1, 1811.
6. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XIV, 239–42; Lilla M. Hawes, ed., "Letters to the Georgia Colonial Agent, July, 1762 to January, 1771," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (1952), 270–72, 282–84.
7. "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life," 4; Harden, *History of Savannah and South Georgia*, II, 539.
8. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XVIII, 205.
9. *Ibid.*, 213.
10. Noble Jones to Noble Wimberly Jones "at Fort St. Johns, July 14, 1760," (a manuscript in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, Hodgson Hall, Savannah).
11. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XVIII, 184.
12. *Ibid.*, XIX, Part I, 134–35.
13. *Ibid.*, 253–88.

14. For example see *Georgia Gazette,* April 19 (2–2), 1775.
15. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VII, 505; VIII, 63, 425, 498, 707; IX, 179, 459; X, 428.
16. *Ibid.,* VIII, 660, 671. Noble Jones, an Assistant Justice of the General Court, was also on this special court. *Ibid.,* 659.
17. *Ibid.,* XVIII, 66–73.
18. *Ibid.,* XIII, 533–36. For instance, these were the rates in the general tax act for 1761:
    2*s.*, 6*d.*, on 100 acres of land
    2*s.*, 6*d.*, on each slave
    7*s.*, 6*d.*, on every £100 value of town and warf lots and 5*s.* for every £100 value improvements on such lots
    4*s* for every £100 value of lots in Yamacraw and Trustee Gardens and 2*s.* for every £100 value of improvements on such lots
    7*s.*, 6*d.*, for every £100 value of stock in trade
    £2, 10*s.* on every £100 of goods imported for sale by transient persons and 10*s.* on every £100 let at interest
    £4 on every £100 arising from annuities
    £1 for every £100 of instruments and tools of professions and trades
    10*s.* for each free Negro over 16 years of age
    6*d.* for every steer, 4*d.* for every cow, and 2*d.* for every calf sold for slaughter or to be taken out of the province
    2*s.*, 6*d.* for every chariot, coach, chaise or riding chair kept for use.
19. The following are among the references to his elections and service, to be found in Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* VII, 89, 410; VIII, 519, 630; IX, 241; X, 646, 911; XI, 333; XII, 314; XIII, 7, 81, 166, 433, 449, *et passim;* XIV, 137, 589, *et passim;* XV, 3, 6, 301, 316, 335, *et passim.*
20. *Ibid.,* XVII, 30.
21. *Ibid.,* XIII, 733–34; Jones, *History of Georgia,* II, 54.
22. *Ibid.,* 681–82.
23. *Ibid.,* XVIII, 482, 483, 538, 582. Some of the correspondence of the Committee with the Agent may be found in Hawes, ed., "Letters to the Georgia Colonial Agent, July, 1762 to January, 1771," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXVI (1952), 250–86, and in "The Letters of the Hon. James Habersham, 1756–1775," being *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, 1904), VI. When the Crown took over Georgia from the Trustees, Benjamin Martyn, who had been secretary of the Trustees, remained as agent of the Crown for the royal province of Georgia, until his death in 1763. He was succeeded in 1765 as Crown Agent for Georgia by John Campbell. Thus, there was a Georgia Crown Agent as well as a Colonial Agent.
24. Hawes, ed., "Letters to Georgia Colonial Agent," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXVI (1952), 270.
25. *Ibid.,* 273.
26. "Letters of Habersham," being *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,* VI, 47.
27. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XIV, 293–94.
28. "Letters of Habersham," being *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,* VI, 50. Writing to his son Joseph in London, October 13, 1770, Habersham said, "I find you now and then touch on politics, which it's very well to acquaint yourself with, provided you do not determine your opinion from popular Clamour, instead of recurring to first principles of Government, and our Constitution in particular. Liberty as well as religion, has many pretenders among its votaries, and both are too often made a block of Licentiousness, for Hypocrites can as easily cant the phrases of patriotism, as of Sanctity." *Ibid.,* 89.

29. *Ibid.*, 47–49.
30. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XIV, 272–73.
31. *Ibid.*, 300, 304, 306, 315–16, 317–19.
32. *Ibid.*, 335–36, 505; "Letters of Habersham," being *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, VI, 59.
33. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XIV, 327.
34. Until 1763 the region between the Altamaha and St. Marys rivers was claimed by South Carolina, as Georgia's southern boundary by her Charter was the first-named river and as South Carolina had apparently included this region when Georgia was granted to the Trustees. As a consequence, South Carolina had been making grants of land in this region to her own citizens.
35. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XIV, 377, 378.
36. *Ibid.*, 380.
37. *Ibid.*, 511–12. See also *ibid.*, 366, 455, 456, 457, 458, 474, 497, 503, 507, 508, 510, 512, 520–21, 527, 570–73, 581.
38. *Ibid.*, 575, 578, 581, 584; XIX, Part I, 13, 200, 250; "Letters of Habersham," being *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, VI, 71; Hawes, ed., "Letters to Georgia Colonial Agents," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (1952), 274–76; Jared Sparks, *The Life of Benjamin Franklin* (Boston, 1844), 316. Later Franklin served as colonial agent for New Jersey and Massachusetts.
39. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XIV, 509–12, 513–23.
40. *Georgia Gazette*, August 31 (3–2) 1768.
41. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XVII, 452.
42. *Ibid.*, XIV, 591.
43. *Ibid.*, XVII, 454.
44. *Ibid.*, XIV, 643, 644, 645.
45. *Ibid.*, 615–55.
46. *Ibid.*, 658.
47. *Ibid.*, XV, 7; XVII, 486, 489.
48. *Ibid.*, XV, 17–18.
49. *Ibid.*, 19.
50. *Ibid.*, 99.
51. *Ibid.*, 219.
52. *Ibid.*, 25–30. The original of the letter of December 24, 1768 is in the possession of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. A photostat is in the University of Georgia Library.
53. *Ibid.*, 34.
54. *Ibid.*, XVII, 592.
55. *Ibid.*, XIX, Part I, 182–83. The text of these two letters may be found in *The Collector. A Magazine for Autograph and Historical Collectors* (New York), LII (1937), 2. See also Jones to Franklin, Savannah, Georgia, February 21, 1770. The original of this letter is in the possession of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; a photostat is in the University of Georgia Library. The date of this letter indicates that Jones had anticipated the passage of the tax act providing the money for the purchase. On October 9 Jones wrote Franklin his thanks, informing him that the mace was "in the oppinion of all that has seen it extreemly neat & Ellegant" and "the Gouns also quite compleat and in very good order." Original is in the possession of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; a photostat is in the University of Georgia Library.
56. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia*, XIX, Part I, 249–52, 506–508.
57. *Ibid.*, XVII, 777–79.
58. *Ibid.*, 781–82. Only two members refused to agree with these proceedings.
59. John Bigelow, ed., *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin* . . . (New York, 1887), V, 338–40.

60. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XVII, 776–77, 784–86.
61. In Edward Telfair Collection, Duke University Library, Durham, N.C.
62. John T. Morse, Jr., in his work *Benjamin Franklin* (Boston, 1891), page 137, makes the statement that only New Jersey and Pennsylvania ever paid Franklin his salary as colonial agent. Available records indicate that Georgia paid Franklin his salary before the dispute between the two houses of the General Assembly developed over his re-appointment in 1774. For instance the law re-appointing him on September 29, 1773, allowed him £150 "Sterling Money of Great Britain over and above his reasonable charges and disbursements." Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XIX, Part I, 251–52. Carl Van Doren in his *Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1938), page 739, says that Georgia gave the 3,000 acres of land "for payment of the salary still due." Paul L. Ford in his *The Many-Sided Franklin* (New York, 1899), pages 347–48 states merely that Georgia gave Franklin 3,000 acres of land.
63. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XV, 599, 601–602.

CHAPTER IX

1. John Glen, descendant of a prominent South Carolina family, was a member of the Savannah bar when the Revolution broke out. He served in various sessions of the Commons House of Assembly and took an active part in the Patriotic movement, which drove Sir James Wright from the colony. When the provisional government was set up under the Resolutions of April, 1776, he was made Chief Justice of the province. The British considered him a dangerous rebel as late as July 1, 1780, when the Royal General Assembly in Savannah included him in a long list of persons whom it disqualified from holding office. But soon thereafter he must have done something to win the displeasure of the Patriots, for their General Assembly on May 4, 1782 banished him with a large number of other persons and confiscated their property. Relenting after the war was over, the General Assembly, on February 21, 1785, included him with a dozen and more others in an act which relieved him of all the penalties of the previous act, except that his property, now returned, should be taxed twelve per cent, and that his restored citizenship should not include the right to vote, hold office, or participate in the government in any manner for a period of fourteen years. Evidently there was a relaxation against the penalties of this law, too, for in 1797 he became mayor of Savannah, and the following year, judge of the Superior Court for Chatham County. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* I, 12, 67, 119, 277, 351, 375, 612, 613; J. G. B. Bulloch, *A History of the Glen Family of South Carolina and Georgia* (n. p., 1923), 23, 46, 49. See also Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XV, *passim.*
2. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XI, 257, 259; XV, 300.
3. *Ibid.,* XV, 311.
4. *Ibid.,* 312.
5. *Ibid.,* XI, 335–36; XVII, 650.
6. *Ibid.,* XI, 429.
7. The original of this letter is in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. A photostat is in the University of Georgia Library.
8. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XV, 316–22; XVII, 651–53.
9. *Ibid.,* XV, 322–23. Archibald Bulloch was a son of James Bulloch. The latter married Mary Jones, sister of Noble Wimberly Jones. Archibald Bulloch married Polly DeVeaux in 1764. Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., married a descendant of this union and became the father of Theodore Roosevelt, the president. For the marriage of Archibald Bulloch see *Georgia Gazette,* October 11, 1764.

10. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XVII, 660.
11. *Ibid.,* 656.
12. *Ibid.,* XV, 330–31.
13. *Ibid.,* 332–33.
14. *Ibid.,* XVII, 664.
15. Habersham, Savannah, to the Earl of Hillsborough, Whitehall, April 30, 1772, in "Habersham Letters," being *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,* VI, 179. The sentence derogatory of Noble Jones was omitted in the above-cited source. The full letter appears in Harden, *History of Savannah and South Georgia,* II, 538–39.
16. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XII, 335–36.
17. *Ibid.,* XV, 338.
18. *Ibid.,* XV, 338; XVII, 666, 670.
19. Habersham, Savannah, to Charles Pryce, London, January 16, 1773, in "Habersham Letters," being *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,* VI, 221.
20. Habersham, Savannah, to James Wright, London, June (no day given), 1772, *ibid.,* 184.
21. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XV, 353, 485–86, 490. See also *ibid.,* 362–63, 369, 370, 378, 383, 419, 449, 478, 492, 496, 537.
22. *Ibid.,* XVII, 685–86.
23. *Ibid.,* XV, 381.
24. *Ibid.,* 384–85.
25. *Ibid.,* XVII, 687–89.
26. *Ibid.,* XV, 426; XVII, 690.
27. *Ibid.,* XV, 521–27.
28. There is some question as to whether this notice in the *Georgia Gazette* was signed. George White in his *Historical Collections of Georgia . . .* (New York, 1854), 44, gives Noble W. Jones, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun and John [George?] Walton as the signers. Allen D. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1908), I, 11 gives the wrong date (14) for the *Gazette* and gives the names of the four signers, correcting John Walton to George Walton. C. C. Jones, Jr. in his *History of Georgia,* II, 177, gives the four names but says that the call was published on June 21. A copy of the *Georgia Gazette* for June 20, 1774 is not available, but certainly it may be well assumed that the above-named men must have called the meeting.
29. White, *Historical Collections of Georgia,* 45–46; Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* I, 14–18; Jones, *History of Georgia,* II, 153; Hugh M'Call, *History of Georgia . . .* (reprint ed., Atlanta, 1909), 273; William Bacon Stevens, *History of Georgia . . .* (2 vols., I, New York, 1847; II, Philadelphia, 1859), II, 76–77; *Georgia Gazette,* August 10, 1774.
30. White, *Historical Collections of Georgia,* 48–49; Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* I, 18–34.
31. Jones, *History of Georgia,* II, 163.
32. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* I, 34–63; "Wright Letters," in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,* III, 197–99; Hawes, ed., "Proceedings and Minutes of Governor and Council, 1774–1775 and 1779–1780," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXXIV (1950) 211, 215, 297; Jones, *History of Georgia,* II, 159–66; *Georgia Gazette,* June 21 (3–1), 1775; November 15, 1775; January 17, 1776.
33. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* I, 57.
34. *Ibid.,* 63–66.
35. M'Call, *History of Georgia,* 286–87; *Georgia Gazette,* May 31, 1775.
36. *Georgia Gazette,* June 7, 1775.
37. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* I, 233; *Collections of the*

Georgia Historical Society, V, Part I, 4–5; Wright, Savannah, to Lord Dartmouth, June 17, 1775, in "Wright Letters," in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III, 183; *Georgia Gazette*, June 14, 1775.

38. "Wright Letters," in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III, 185.
39. Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, 177.
40. *Ibid.*, 179.
41. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 229. Incomplete minutes of this body may be found *ibid.*, 229–72.
42. *Georgia Gazette*, July 5, 1775.
43. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 235–39, 248; *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III, 201; V, Part I, 5–8; Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1904–1937), II, 193, 241; Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, 202–203; "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life," 12. Lyman Hall was already there, having gone as a representative of St. Johns Parish.
44. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 244–48.
45. *Georgia Gazette*, September 6, 1769.
46. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 262.
47. "Wright Letters," in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III, 200; Hawes, ed., "Proceedings and Minutes of Governor and Council of Georgia, 1774–1775 and 1779–1780," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXIV (1950), 298–99; Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 258; *Georgia Gazette*, August 23, 1775.
48. Wright, Savannah, to Lord Dartmouth, July 10, 1775, in "Wright Letters," in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III, 195.
49. Wright, Savannah, to Lord Dartmouth, January 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 229–30.
50. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 94, 98; Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, 211–12. W. B. Stevens in his *History of Georgia*, II, 128 says that the Council escaped "through doors and windows." C. C. Jones, Jr. in his *History of Georgia*, II, 212 repeats this statement, giving Stevens as his authority, and also Hugh M'Call. Stevens gives no source of his information, and M'Call, writing much nearer the time (his second volume was published in 1816), says (*History of Georgia*, reprint edition, 300) that "all intercourse with the members of his council," was prohibited, thus indicating that the Council did not escape. A strict reading of the minutes of the Council of Safety does not indicate that the Council fled.

CHAPTER X

1. John was killed in the siege of Savannah in 1779, not to be confused with another John Jones, killed in the same siege. See White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*, 533–37. George was captured and imprisoned. Another son, Edward, seems to have taken no active part in the war, and indeed may have accepted British rule, as there is a record of his having bought real estate in Savannah while the British were still in possession of the city. This was on June 13, 1782; the British did not evacuate the city until the following month. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 462.
2. A copy of these Resolutions may be found in Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, I, 274–77.
3. See Charles Francis Jenkins, *Button Gwinnett. Signer of the Declaration of Independence* (New York, 1926), fn. on page 102, 108–109; White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*, 205.
4. Jones, *History of Georgia*, II, 275–76; White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*,

203–205; Robert Wilson Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution: Consisting of Letters and Papers Relating to the Contest for Liberty, Chiefly in South Carolina, from Originals in the Possession of the Editor and Other Sources* (2 vols., New York, 1855, 1857), II, 74.

5. The official records of the state are practically non-existent for this period. It is known that Jones was a member and speaker of the House at this time, as his name is signed in that capacity, to the laws which were passed. See Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* I, 306; Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XIX, Part II, 67, 103; Robert and George Watkins, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia. From its First Establishment as a British Province down to the Year 1798, Inclusive, . . .* (Philadelphia, 1800), 201–32, *passim.*
6. Original letter in the Benjamin Franklin Papers of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. Photostat copy in the Library of the University of Georgia.
7. "Order Book of Samuel Elbert, Colonel and Brigadier General in the Continental Army, October 1776, to November, 1778," in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, 1902), V, Part 2, p. 55; Charles Francis Jenkins, *Button Gwinnett, Signer of the Declaration of Independence,* 265–66.
8. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress,* XXII, 147–48.
9. The author searched files of these papers in the possession of the Charleston Library Society, Charleston. The first and last mentioned files are reasonably complete; there were only a few scattered numbers of the second.
10. "Noble Wimberly Jones" (a MS fragment of an obituary, the first part missing, in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, Hodgson Hall, Savannah). "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life," 7; Mabel L. Webber, ed., "Josiah Smith's Diary, 1780–1781," in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine,* XXXIII (1932), 89, 90, 92, 95, 100, 102, 106, 203; Thacher, *American Medical Biography,* I, 341–42; Harden, *History of Savannah and South Georgia,* II, 543.
11. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* I, 348–63. This law was passed July 1, 1780.
12. *Ibid.,* 364–70. This law was passed April 9, 1781.
13. Watkins, *A Digest of the Laws of Georgia,* 208–19; Thacher, *American Medical Biography,* I, 342.
14. Webber, ed., "Josiah Smith's Diary, 1780–1781," in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine,* XXXIII (1932), 285. Smith's diary related only to his own ship, but as both ships left at the same time it is assumed that they arrived in Philadelphia at about the same time.
15. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress,* XXI, 1015, 1118–19; XXII, 220–21; XXIII, *passim;* XXVII, 568; Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (8 vols., Washington, 1921–1936), VI, xiv; Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* III, 7–9, 23, 58. Burnett says Jones was elected August 17, but the minutes indicate August 21.
16. A statement of his expenses, dated February 24, 1783, is in the Manuscript Division of the Duke University Library. See also Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* III, 26.
17. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* III, 75.
18. *Ibid.,* 191, 201. The minutes are confusing. The minutes for January 7, say that he "attended & qualified" (p. 191) and the minutes for January 10, say that he "appeared And took the Oath."
19. *Ibid.,* 211.
20. *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* September 17, 1786.

21. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1784.
22. For pertinent references to these difficulties see *ibid.*, March 4 (2–3), July 1, (3–3), September 9 (3–2), 1784; January 6 (2–3), 13 (2–2), February 24 (3–1), June 16 (2–1), October 27 (2–1), 1785; February 23 (3–1), March 16 (1–1), 23 (1–1), May 18, 1786.
23. *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* March 13, *passim,* 1783.
24. *Ibid.,* February 6.
25. Thacher, *American Medical Biography,* I, 342.
26. "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life," 10–11; Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 28.
27. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* II, 494–95.
28. *Ibid.,* III, 321. See *ibid.,* 191–418, *passim.*
29. "Noble Wimberly Jones" (a MS fragment of an obituary, the first part missing, in the Georgia Historical Society Library). The exact time is not known, though there have been statements made that he left immediately after the adjournment of the legislature in February, 1783. It is possible that he did not leave until near the end of the year, for he was elected to the legislature from Chatham County about that time, being one of fourteen and standing eleventh in the number of votes received, 270. See *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* December 4 (2–2), 1783.
30. "Noble Wimberly Jones" (a MS fragment of an obituary, the first part missing, in the Georgia Historical Society Library); Thacher, *American Medical Biography,* I, 342. George Jones, in Savannah, wrote to his father, in Charleston, on February 26, 1788, telling mostly about Indian scalpings to the southward, and promising to visit him in Charleston soon. This MS letter is in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society, Hodgson Hall, Savannah.
31. Files are in possession of the Charleston Library Society, Charleston.
32. Candler, ed., *Revolutionary Records of Georgia,* II, 661, 662, 675.
33. Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* V (1921), 199.

CHAPTER XI

1. "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life"; Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 31.
2. Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 32.
3. Thacher, *American Medical Biography,* I, 341.
4. Candler, ed., *Colonial Records of Georgia,* XIX, Part I, pp. 48, 186, 477.
5. Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 144.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.,* 31.
8. *Ibid.,* 154; "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life."
9. Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 154; "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life," 11.
10. Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 17. For the text of the charter, see Augustin Smith Clayton, *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia*

. . . *since the Political Year of 1800, to the Year 1810, Inclusive* . . . (Augusta, 1812), 205–206.

11. *Georgia Gazette,* March 9, 1774; April 25, 1775; "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life," 11; *Minutes of the Union Society . . . Also a Historical Sketch of Bethesda* (Savannah, 1860), 1, 3, and renumbering at end, 1, 11; Thomas Gamble, *Bethesda . . . and . . . the Union Society . . .* (Savannah, 1902), 93, 94.
12. *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* November 13 (3–1), 1783.
13. Gamble, *Bethesda,* 93, 94.
14. For example see *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* July 7 (3–1), 1797.
15. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748–1799* (4 vols., Boston, 1925), IV, 175–77.
16. Archibald Henderson, *Washington's Southern Tour* (Boston, 1923), 205–206.
17. *Ibid.,* 212–13.
18. *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* April 3, 1794; Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 29; Thacher, *American Medical Biography,* I, 343.
19. N. W. Jones, Savannah, to John Meriweather, Augusta, January 7, 1791, in Elfrida De Renne Barrow Collection.
20. Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 28. For the text of amendments see Walter McElreath, *A Treatise on the Constitution of Georgia . . .* (Atlanta, 1912), 249–50.
21. Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia,* 320–21.
22. *Georgia Gazette,* August 2 (3–2), 1769.
23. "Family History" (MS in Elfrida De Renne Barrow Collection); "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life," 16–17.
24. "Memorandum of Noble Wimberly Jones' Life," 7, 17; Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 156.
25. *Georgia Republican and State Intelligencer,* January 10 (3–3), 1805. He was first buried in the Colonial Cemetery, in Savannah, but was later removed to Bonaventure Cemetery. His son George erected the marker over his grave. For his epitaph, see *Some Early Epitaphs in Georgia,* 24–25.
26. "Noble Wimberly Jones" (a MS fragment of an obituary, the first part missing, in possession of the Georgia Historical Society, Hodgson Hall, Savannah).
27. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* January 16 (3–1 & 2), 1805. Dr. John Grimes, who married the granddaughter of Noble Wimberly Jones, delivered the discourse on his life and character. The original MS of this address is in the Georgia Historical Society Library. It was published in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 17–32, 141–58.
28. *Georgia Republican and State Intelligencer,* January 14 (3–3), 1805.
29. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* January 16 (3–1 & 2), 1805.
30. *Georgia Republican and State Intelligencer,* January 14 (3–3), 1805.
31. "Noble Wimberly Jones" (a MS fragment of an obituary, the first part missing, in possession of the Georgia Historical Society, Hodgson Hall, Savannah.)
32. Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* IV (1920), 150–53, 155.
33. This portrait now hangs in Wormsloe, the property of his great-great-granddaughter Elfrida De Renne Barrow (Mrs. Craig Barrow).
34. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* May 17 (2–1), 1803. Thus, Jones disposed of much of his house furnishings two years before his death.

35. Deed Book 2 D, p. 169, in Clerk's Office, in Chatham County Archives, County Courthouse, Savannah; File Box I, Folio 27 (1807), in Ordinary's Office, in Chatham County Archives, County Courthouse, Savannah.

CHAPTER XII

1. Grimes, "Eulogy on the Life and Character of Dr. Noble Wymberley Jones," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IV, 142.
2. Jones, New York City, to William Stephens, September 16, 1793, in George Jones Folder, in Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta. See also *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser*, June 22 (3–3), 1809; June 21 (3–3), 1810; *Republican & Savannah Evening Ledger*, June 19 (3–2), 1810; January 5 (2–2), 1813. In 1805 he was a member of a committee of the Georgia Medical Society to improve the standards of the medical profession. Augusta *Herald*, August 8 (3–3), 1805.
3. *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, February 5 (1–2), 1783; February 10 (1–3), 1785. Also see card file on George Jones in Georgia Department of Archives and History.
4. Jones, Augusta, to Governor George Mathews, August 7, 1787, in Jones Folder, in Georgia Department of Archives and History. See also letter signed by George Jones as state treasurer, August 23, 1786, in Letter Folder, 1784–1799, in Telamon Cuyler Collection, in University of Georgia Library; *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, February 8 (2–1), August 16 (2–3), 1787.
5. *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, October 4 (3–1), 1792; October 10 (3–2), 1793. The House Journals of these sessions are not known to be in existence.
6. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser*, November 8 (3–4), 1796; November 6 (3–3), 1798; *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, November 10 (3–2), 1796; November 10 (3–2), 1797; November 8 (3–2), 1798; Ruth Blair, comp., *Georgia's Official Register, 1927* (Atlanta, 1927), 437. The Senate Journals of these sessions are not known to be in existence.
7. The original minutes of this convention are in the possession of the Georgia Historical Society. Edited by Albert B. Saye, they were published as "Journal of the Georgia Constitutional Convention of 1798," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (1952), 350–93.
8. *Ibid.*, 382.
9. *Ibid.* This is in Article VI, Section 6 of the Constitution of 1798.
10. *Ibid.*, 374. This is in Article I, Section 24 of the Constitution of 1798.
11. *Ibid.*, 382. This is in Article IV, Section 7 of the Constitution of 1798.
12. *Ibid.*, 389. Article LIV of the Constitution of 1777 and Article IV, Section 13 of the Constitution of 1798 deal with schools. See also, Stevens, *History of Georgia*, II, 501.
13. Saye, ed., "Journal of Convention of 1798," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXVI (1952), 366–67. This is in Article I, Section 17 of the Constitution of 1798. The first part of this clause providing that a law must be read three times on three separate days was in the Constitution of 1777 (Article VIII) but it was not repeated in the Constitution of 1789.
14. For the text of the Yazoo Act, see Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, 557–66. Jones was long remembered as one of the outstanding opponents of the Yazoo fraud. In a eulogy of him, the Savannah Bar said that he was "in opposition to those schemes of personal aggrandizement which were unfortunately corruptly consummated by the alienation of the most valuable portion of the state's territory." Quoted in Harden, *Savannah and South Georgia*, II,

544. See also Savannah *Georgian,* September 17 (2–1), 1825; Northen, ed., *Men of Mark in Georgia,* II, 343–44.
15. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* March 3 (3–2), 1801.
16. Issue of March 5 (3–2), 1801.
17. *Ibid.,* April 3 (3–2), 1801.
18. Thomas Gamble, Jr., *A History of the City Government of Savannah, Ga., from 1790 to 1901* (Savannah, 1901), 16.
19. *Ibid.,* 70. See also *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* December 17 (3–3), 1802; January 14 (3–3 & 4), 1803. For information on Placide, see J. Max Patrick, *Savannah's Pioneer Theater from its Origins to 1810* (Athens, 1953).
20. Gamble, *City Government of Savannah,* 71.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.,* 72.
23. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* January 18 (3–2), 1803.
24. *Republican & Savannah Evening Ledger,* September 8 (3–2), 1812.
25. *Ibid.,* September 15 (3–1).
26. Gamble, *City Government of Savannah,* 16, 26.
27. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* September 10 (2–4), 1818.
28. *Republican & Savannah Evening Ledger,* October 6 (3–1), 1812. For his service in the Senate see MS Journal of the Senate of the State of Georgia, in the Georgia Department of Archives and History.
29. *Republican & Savannah Evening Ledger,* July 7 (3–4), 1807.
30. *Ibid.,* June 25 (3–1), 1812.
31. Harden, *Savannah and South Georgia,* II, 544. In a list of 127 American prisoners on the British prison ship *Torbay* is listed a George Jones, who might have been the George Jones of this study. See Webber, ed., "Josiah Smith's Diary," in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine,* XXXIII, 283.
32. MS letter George Jones, Mayor of Savannah, to William Jones, Commander of United States troops, May 5, 1814, in Georgia Historical Society Library; card file on George Jones, in Georgia Department of Archives and History. The quotations in this paragraph are respectively from the following letters: George Jones, Savannah, to Governor Peter Early, Milledgeville, May 28, 1814; Jones to Early, September 7, 1814; Jones to Early, September 30, 1814. These letters and the following ones are in the Georgia Department of Archives and History: Jones, Savannah, to Governor David B. Mitchell, Milledgeville, June 3, September 1, October 25, 1813.
33. E. Merton Coulter, *Thomas Spalding of Sapelo* (University, La., 1940), 190–91.
34. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* April 19 (3–3), 1799; Edith D. Johnston, *The Houstouns of Georgia* (Athens, 1950), 279; card file on George Jones, in Georgia Department of Archives and History.
35. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* October 26 (3–3), 1798.
36. Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia,* 689. The official notice appointing Jones "in the room of [to take the place of] Jabez Bowen, Jr." is in the Georgia Department of Archives and History. Also his commission (and another one a short time later) are there.
37. *Georgia Republican & Savannah Intelligencer,* November 12 (3–3), 1804.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.,* December 24 (3–4), 1804.
40. "Dr. Jones" was one of the pallbearers listed in the *Republican & Savannah Evening Ledger,* March 24 (3–3), 1807. This is not proof positive that he was the Dr. Jones of this study. The remains of Baldwin were later removed to the Congressional Cemetery.

41. *Debates and Proceeding of the Congress of the United States; . . .* (Washington, 1852), 10 Cong., 1 Sess., 10, 47 (generally cited under the binder's title, *Annals of Congress*); Thomas Hart Benton, *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1856 . . .* (New York, 1857), III, 547, 551; *Republican & Savannah Evening Ledger,* November 17 (2–3), 1807.
42. For instance, his name was suggested for the Reduction Convention of 1833. Savannah *Georgian,* April 1 (2–1), 1833.

CHAPTER XIII

1. *Republican & Savannah Evening Ledger,* June 9 (3–1), 16 (3–1), 1812; *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* June 30 (2–2), 1818.
2. *Account of the Reception of General Lafayette in Savannah . . .* (Savannah, 1825), 6, 7, 15, 25, 29, 43, 71; A. Levasseur, *LaFayette in America in 1824 and 1825; or, Journal of a Voyage to the United States* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1829), 57–65.
3. Savannah *Georgian,* January 1 (2–3), February 14 (2–2), 1833.
4. Lucius Q. C. Lamar, *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia . . . 1810 to 1819 Inclusive* (Augusta, 1821), 128–30.
5. William C. Dawson, *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia . . . 1819 to 1829, Inclusive* (Milledgeville, 1831), 90.
6. *Ibid.,* 91.
7. Savannah *Georgian,* March 13 (2–1), 1826.
8. Dawson, *Compilation of the Laws of Georgia,* 94–98.
9. Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860* (New York, 1908), 120–21.
10. Savannah *Georgian,* October 12 (2–1), 1833.
11. *Ibid.,* October 14.
12. Oliver H. Prince, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia . . . Passed . . . Previous to . . . Dec. 1837 . . .* (2nd edition, Athens, 1837), 300–303.
13. Savannah *Georgian,* December 1 (2–1), 7, 1836.
14. For text of act, see Prince, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia,* 355–57.
15. Savannah *Georgian,* April 12 (2–1), 1828.
16. For the period 1823 to 1835 for his annual elections, see *ibid.,* February 19 (2–1), 1823; February 7 (2–1), 1826; February 12 (2–1), 1827; February 7 (2–1), 1828; February 16 (2–1), 1830; February 21 (2–1), 1831; February 17 (2–2), 1832; February 24, 1834; February 27, 1835.
17. *Ibid.,* January 4 (2–1), 5 (1–2), 1826.
18. *Ibid.,* May 5 (2–2), 1831.
19. *Ibid.,* February 21 (2–3), 1833.
20. *Ibid.,* February 6 (2–1 & 2), 1834.
21. *Ibid.,* February 13 (2–3 & 4).
22. *Ibid.,* March 29 (2–4); July 16 (2–6), 1835; August 20 (2–4), 1836; June 14 (2–2 & 3), 1837.
23. *Ibid.,* July 8 (2–4), 1834.
24. *Minutes of the Union Society,* 39, 49, 51, 59, 100, 102, 185, 187, and page 11 under new numbering at end of book; *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* January 19 (2–1),1792; April 28 (3–1), 1796; *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* April 28 (3–2), 1797; April 27 (3–3), 1798.
25. Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia,* 434–35; *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* April 4 (2–1), 1793.
26. Clayton, *Compilation of the Laws of Georgia,* 183–84.
27. *Ibid.,* 463–64.

28. Richard D. Arnold, "Address of Richard D. Arnold, M.D., on the Organization of the Georgia Historical Society and the Savannah Library Association," in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, III, 417. A society under this same name had existed in colonial times. See *Georgia Gazette*, April 6, 1768; May 17, 1775.
29. *Georgia Infirmary* (Savannah, 1933), 12.
30. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser*, February 7 (3–3), 1817.
31. Prince, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, 806–808; *Georgia Infirmary*, 31.
32. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser*, January 15 (2–2), 1820; January 21 (2–2), 22 (2–3), 1820; Savannah *Georgian*, January 20 (3–1), 22 (3–1), 1820. For an extended account of the fire, see E. Merton Coulter, "The Great Savannah Fire of 1820," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXIII (1939), 1–27. For an engraving of this fire, see Helen Comstock, ed., *The Old Print Shop Portfolio* (New York), VI, 132.
33. Clayton, *Compilation of the Laws of Georgia*, 529.
34. Savannah *Georgian*, December 30 (2–6), 1826; January 17 (2–2 & 3), 1827; January 9 (2–1), 1830; January 12 (2–2), 1832; January 11 (2–6), 1833; Thomas Gamble, *Savannah Duels and Duellists, 1733–1877* (Savannah, 1923), 183–206.
35. Lamar, *Compilation of the Laws of Georgia*, 593.
36. *Ibid.*, 638. A law of December 19, 1818 increased the penalty. *Ibid.*, 656–57. See also Dawson, *Compilation of the Laws of Georgia*, 297.
37. *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville at the Annual Session in November and December, 1832* (Milledgeville, 1833), 75.
38. Prince, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, 643.
39. For instance, see *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, March 31 (3–2), 1785; April 8 (3–3), 1790; Savannah *Georgian*, April 5 (2–2), 1836; February 27 (2–2), 1838; Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks*, I, 78.
40. Edith D. Johnston, ed., "The Kollock Letters, 1799–1850," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXX (1946), 244.
41. *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, December 12 (3–3), 1793; December 11 (3–2), 1794; December 11 (3–3), 1800; *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser*, December 10 (3–2), 1799; *Republican & Savannah Evening Ledger*, December 5, 1809; December 5 (3–2), 1810.
42. *Gazette of the State of Georgia*, January 2 (1–2), 1800; *Republican & Savannah Evening Ledger*, June 10 (3–3), 1809; Savannah *Georgian*, March 24 (2–4), 1827; March 18 (2–5), 1833.
43. Appraisement of George Jones' Estate, in File Box I, Folio 74, in Ordinary's Office, in Chatham County Archives, County Courthouse, Savannah; George Jones's Will, in Will Book G, 355, in Ordinary's Office, in Chatham County Archives, County Courthouse, Savannah.
44. Savannah *Daily Georgian*, February 21 (3–1), 1821; *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser*, May 14 (3–3), 1797.
45. Savannah *Georgian*, May 25 (3–2), 1821.
46. *Ibid.*, December 6 (2–3), 1825. It is assumed that reference to the fire is intended, in a letter a year afterwards, from Mrs. Noble W. Jones, II, Philadelphia, to P. M. Kollock, Savannah, December 24, 1826, in Johnston, ed., "Kollock Letters," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXX (1946), 315. See also *ibid.*, 230.
47. *Ibid.*, 122. "Dr. Jones' Country place" could hardly have been a reference to Wormsloe as the contents of the letter clearly shows, for the Wormsloe house was in existence in 1831. Dr. Jones wrote a letter from there that year. (*Ibid.*, XXXI (1947), 58–59.) The last sentence would not indicate a recent fire. The letter is from Robert Habersham to George Kollock, July 27, 1832.

48. *Ibid.,* XXXI (1947), 58–59, 70, 72, 159. George Jones always used the spelling Wormslow.
49. Savannah *Georgian,* April 1 (3–2), 1831. See also *Columbian Museum & Savannah Advertiser,* June 17 (3–3), 1808; Savannah *Georgian,* April 30 (3–1), 1829; Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks,* I, 88.
50. *Gazette of the State of Georgia,* February 3 (2–3), 1785.
51. Cuthbert was an outstanding Georgian. A son of Seth John Cuthbert, who was a Revolutionary officer, Alfred was born in Savannah in 1785. He was a graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1803. He was in the Georgia House of Representatives from 1810 to 1813, and in the state Senate from 1817 to 1819. Thereafter he was elected to the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Congresses, and he served in the United States Senate from 1835 to 1843. He lived on his plantation estate near Monticello until his death in 1856. See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1927* (Washington, 1928), 873.
52. Johnston, ed., "Kollock Letters," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXX (1946), 222.
53. Dr. and Mrs. Victor H. Bassett, comps., "Medical Miscellany" (MSS in possession of the Georgia Historical Society, Hodgson Hall, Savannah), I, 137–41.
54. Rev. Jona. Homer, Newton, Mass., to George Jones, Savannah, March 22, 1796, in possession of the Georgia Historical Society, Hodgson Hall, Savannah; Burton A. Konkle, *The Life and Times of Thomas Smith, 1745–1809* . . . (Philadelphia, 1904), 142–43; Johnston, ed., "Kollock Letters," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXX (1946), 230, 231, *passim.*
55. Johnston, ed., "Kollock Letters," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXX (1946), 237.
56. *Ibid.,* 238.
57. *Ibid.,* 237, 314, 349; *Columbian Museum & Savannah Daily Gazette,* November 23 (2–4), 1819; Savannah *Georgian,* December 30 (2–3), 1823; December 13 (3–3), 1826.
58. Johnston, ed., "Kollock Letters," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXX (1946), 241, 316, 323, 336, 339, 349; XXXI (1947), 56, 61, 135. Under favorable conditions a person might drive as far as forty-nine miles in a day, but this was something to remark about. See George Jones, Jr., Fayetteville, N.C., to George J. Kollock, Savannah, November 14, 1834, in Kollock Collection, in University of Georgia Library.
59. Johnston, ed., "Kollock Letters," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXX (1946), 317; XXXI (1947), 153.
60. *Ibid.,* 153, 157.
61. *Ibid.,* 204, 205; Savannah *Daily Georgian,* November 14 (2–5), 1838.
62. This portrait now hangs in Wormsloe.
63. Johnston, ed., "Kollock Letters," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* XXX (1946), 230.
64. Quoted in Harden, *Savannah and South Georgia,* II, 544, from Savannah *Georgian* November 20 (2–4 & 5), 1838.

CHAPTER XIV

1. Will of George Jones, in Will Book G, Folio 355, in Ordinary's Office, in Chatham County Archives, County Courthouse, Savannah.
2. *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Library,* I, xii.
3. The progression of the ways in which he signed his name may most readily be seen in his publications.
4. An autograph letter of his, written June 18, 1875 from Philadelphia to Charles

C. Jones, Jr., New York, is laid in the copy of his brochure *Observations on Doctor Stevens's History of Georgia* (Savannah, 1849), which is in the De Renne Collection of the University of Georgia Library.

5. The receipted statement is laid in the copy of his brochure *Theory Concerning the Nature of Insanity* (Wormsloe, 1847), which is in the De Renne Collection of the University of Georgia Library.
6. *Ibid.*, 38.
7. De Renne may have got the idea of reprinting old rare documents from Peter Force, who in 1836 had brought out his first volume of *Tracts and Other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, from the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776* (Washington, 1836).
8. *Observations upon the Effects of Certain Late Political Suggestions. By the Delegates of Georgia* (Wormsloe, 1847), 4.
9. *Ibid.*, 14.
10. *Ibid.*, 10.
11. John G. W. De Brahm, *History of the Province of Georgia: With Maps of Original Surveys* (Wormsloe, 1849), 3. A quarter century later, C. C. Jones, Jr. presented to De Renne, De Brahm's full signature, with his three names in their proper order. In acknowledging this gift, De Renne wrote Jones, "Your courtesy is like a never failing spring—and you know how grateful that is to dwellers in our climate." He took occasion to add this about De Brahm: "In the days of shaven men, the old fellow's beard made him noticeable, but suggested the idea of uncleanness and the widow Fenwick, born a Drayton, was considered by her world to have greatly demeaned herself in marrying a man of science and of hair. The one and the other were alike distasteful to the Carolina aristocracy of that day." G. W. J. De Renne, Savannah, March 12, 1875, to C. C. Jones, Jr., in Duke University Library.
12. Georgia Historical Society Minute Book, I, 146. In manuscript.
13. *Ibid.*, 157.
14. *Observations on Stevens's History*, 7.
15. *Ibid.*, 23.
16. E. Merton Coulter, "William Bacon Stevens, Physician, Historian, Teacher, Preacher," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (1949), 104.
17. Stevens, *History of Georgia*, I, xiii.
18. G. W. J. De Renne, Savannah, to the President of the Georgia Historical Society, December 3, 1874, Number 387 in Letter Book of the Georgia Historical Society.
19. Coulter, "William Bacon Stevens," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (1949), 102–103.
20. *Ibid.*, 103.
21. *Observations on Stevens's History*, 27, 28.
22. Sparks brought out between 1834 and 1837 his twelve-volume set of the *Life and Writings of George Washington*. In 1836 Force published his first volume of tracts and documents and the following year, there appeared the first volume of his *American Archives*.
23. A copy of the Winthrop letter to Mitchell is laid in the copy of the *Bachelor's Reverie* in the University of Georgia Library. It is interesting to note that De Renne was the first to fully appreciate the lasting and timeless qualities of this little reverie and to act on this fact by bringing it out in book form, for his friends. Mitchell had been led first to publish it by John R. Thompson, editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* (Richmond, Va.), in his journal, Volume XV, Numbers 9 & 10 (September, 1849) pages 601–609. Shortly before De Renne brought out the reverie in his book, Henry J. Raymond, editor of

Harper's New Monthly Magazine (New York), got permission from Mitchell to reprint it in his magazine, Volume I, Number 5 (October, 1850), pages 620–27. This first reverie having had such a wide appeal, Mitchell decided to add other reveries and make a full-length book of it. In this very year Baker and Scribner published the extended work under the more elaborate title, *Reveries of a Bachelor or a Book of the Heart,* and from then on its popularity surprised both author and publisher. By 1858 it had gone through seventeen editions, and afterwards, many more. In his preface to the 1883 edition Mitchell, in giving a little history of his idea and of the book, took occasion to refer to De Renne's first printing but not by name. He said that his paper in the *Southern Literary Messenger* had been "received with much approval; and indeed it had come at about this time to the honor of a private printing, in elegant quarto form, and an edition of twelve copies, by a curious bibliophile and (I trust) worthy gentleman, then living at Savannah, Ga." Ik: Marvel, *Reveries of a Bachelor or a Book of the Heart* (New York, 1890), xvi. See also *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Library,* I, xii. Actually the book was not quarto in size, being only 10⅛ by 6⅞ inches.

24. These acts and others passed by the Commons House of Assembly were reprinted by Allen D. Candler in Volumes XVIII and XIX, Parts I and II of his *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1910–1911).
25. See *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Library,* II, 845–46. This volume was reprinted by Allen D. Candler as Volume V of his *Colonial Records of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1908). This Wormsloe Quarto contained the second and third volumes of the Egmont journal, the first volume unknown at that time to be extant. In 1950 the long-lost first volume was discovered in the Phillipps Collection by the firm of William H. Robinson, Ltd., London dealers in rare books and manuscripts, who purchased the remainder of this remarkable collection. It was immediately offered for sale, but this writer does not know whether or not it has been sold. In 1950 this writer had considerable correspondence with the Robinson firm relative to the manuscript. This journal must not be confused with the more intimate diary of Egmont, which was published in three volumes by the British Historical Manuscripts Commission under the title of *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, Diary of Viscount Percival, Afterwards First Earl of Egmont* (London, 1920–1923).
26. Georgia Historical Society Minute Book, I, 148.
27. *Ibid.,* I A, June 2, 1873. Solomon Cohen was also nominated and voted on, but De Renne was elected, and then the election was made unanimous.
28. *Ibid.,* February 12, 1874.
29. *Ibid.,* February 12, 1879; *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, 1914), 107.
30. Georgia Historical Society Minute Book, I A, February 12, 1868, *passim.*
31. *Ibid.,* September 6, 1880.
32. G. W. J. De Renne, Savannah, to E. J. Harden, December 31, 1870, No. 144, in Georgia Historical Society Letter Book.
33. Published in Volume III of the *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society,* 158–75.
34. De Renne, Savannah, to E. J. Harden, December 31, 1870, No. 144 in Georgia Historical Society Minute Book, I A.
35. G. W. J. De Renne, London, to William Harden, June 4, 1871, No. 181 in Georgia Historical Society Letter Book.
36. G. W. J. De Renne, Savannah, to E. J. Harden, January 31, 1872, No. 256, *ibid.*

37. G. W. J. De Renne, Savannah, to President of the Georgia Historical Society, December 3, 1874, No. 387, *ibid.*
38. G. W. J. De Renne, Savannah, to Gen. H. R. Jackson, March 1, 1879, *ibid.*
39. G. W. J. De Renne, Savannah, to President of Georgia Historical Society, December 6, 1875, No. 435, *ibid.* This was finally published in Saye, ed., "Commission and Instructions of Governor John Reynolds, August 6, 1754," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XXX (1946), 124–62.
40. Georgia Historical Society Minute Book, I A, February 12, May 6, 1878. The items composing this volume were Charles C. Jones, Jr., *The Dead Towns of Georgia* and [Edward Kimber] *Itinerant Observations in America.* They were originally printed separately.
41. G. W. J. De Renne, Savannah, to E. J. Harden, January 31, 1872, No. 236 in Georgia Historical Society Letter Book.
42. G. W. J. De Renne, Savannah, to President of Georgia Historical Society, December 29, 1875, *ibid.*
43. Georgia Historical Society Minute Book, I A, December 6, 1875, February 14, 1876.
44. Jones, Jr., *Georgia Historical Society*, 27.
45. Stevens, *History of Georgia*, I, xiii.
46. De Renne wrote but never published a catalogue of most of his books. It contained this notation, "This cat. contains about 1250 vols. costing about $3500. I had besides a number of other books, and engravings, not mentioned in it—in all, I believe, about 1300 vols. worth about $3700." One of the volumes of this library, which Sherman's troops had so thoroughly pillaged, in 1911 was presented to Wymberley Jones De Renne by Dr. Samuel A. Green, Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, with the explanation that the work "was given to me in Richmond soon after the fall of that city in the spring of 1865. I thought then, as I still think, that it was 'looted'—taken from a private library during the war." The work was a two-volume set and had the name plate "Geo. Wymberley Jones of Wormsloe." Leonard L. Mackall, "The Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, II (1918), 70.
47. *Ibid.*, 66. G. W. J. De Renne, Philadelphia, to C. C. Jones, Jr., New York City, March 31 [1876?] laid in the copy of De Brahm's *History of the Province of Georgia* in the De Renne Collection of the University of Georgia Library.
48. *Ibid.*, 70.
49. *Ibid.* Quotation from G. W. J. De Renne, Savannah, February 19, 1875, to C. C. Jones, Jr., New York, in Duke University Library. For other letters of De Renne to Jones, acknowledging gifts of books, see these dates, Philadelphia, December 4, 1870; Richfield Springs, N. Y., July 19, 1874. All in manuscript, in Duke University Library.
50. John Milledge, *The De Renne Gift. Communication from the State Librarian* (Atlanta, 1894), 3. There were thirteen books added to this collection after De Renne's death. It is assumed that either Everard De Renne or Mrs. G. W. J. De Renne did so.
51. This is his letter to Mrs. Jones asking for the hand of her daughter Mary:

Wormsloe Jan. 24th. 1852

My dear Mrs J: Lady Oaklands, d'El Destino, friend, cousin, Mother, whichever you like best to be called.

I am in that particular state of suspense, of which hanging is an inferior degree, vibrating between hopes and fears, uncertain how long I'm to be

miserable, when I'm to be made happy, and dependent on your considerate kindliness for an early issue to this tantalizing period of expectation.

Your ladyship has been arbitress of the destinies of so many poor fellows, and has been constrained to be cruel so often, that I permit myself to hope you may incline to mercy in the present case, if for no other reason, at least to indulge the fancy of your sex for change.

But I have other causes for hopefulness. You are all-powerful. The decision you make is final—there's no appeal—no contesting it—nothing but submission.

By a different disposition this unrestrained authority might be severely used; but I am willing to believe that your generosity is equal to your power—that you are as indulgent as you are absolute. Your ladyship's temper is, if I mistake not, quite Roman in its nobleness—not to say divine. I may not quote Latin to a lady, but the English of a famous line describes what I think is your habit "to resist the proud but be gracious to the humble" and yield to supplication what you'd refuse to demand.

Your ladyship has in your late cousin a suppliant most humble, and beyond doubt sufficiently lowly. He acknowledges your power with dread; but finds consolation in the memory of your kind heartedness. He implores you to terminate his harassing doubts as speedily as your wisdom will allow your compassion—to fix some definite period to his suspense—some end to his uncertainty; and he relies upon your gracious sympathy that it be not too long.

In fact there is limit to the powers of endurance even when there is none to the willingness to endure and we know that saints as well as sinners sometimes cry "How long, O Lord? How long?"

My dear Cousin, you have dealt kindly with me; deal kindly with me now also. I would you could know how entirely absorbing this one charming idea is to me. My mind, thoughts, my whole attention are concentrated upon one subject with an exclusiveness which without exaggeration, is almost painfully intense. Nothing will divert them. You are philosopher enough to know that this state of things cannot last long without material injury. I pray you therefore, my cousin, that it may not last long.

The Spaniards have a proverb which prays God to deliver them from a man of one book. You will readily understand that devotion to one single subject unfits a man for general—perhaps for any companionship.

You may say that this is foolish, unreasonable, absurd, and to be corrected. If it had been in my power to have controlled my feelings, I should not have troubled you with a letter as tedious and so importunate.

Once more, my cousin I pray you be kind, if it be possible. But at all events tell me your decision very soon in pity, if not in love.

Will you give my love to Mary, and accept the poor remnant yourself, and believe me faithfully yrs

G.W.J.

The original of this letter is owned by Mrs. Craig Barrow of Wormsloe.

52. Manuscript in the Elfrida De Renne Barrow Collection.
53. *Ibid.;* G. Wymberley Jones, Greenville [S.C.] to William B. Hodgson, September 1, 1861, laid in the copy of De Brahm's *History of the Province of Georgia* in the De Renne Collection of the University of Georgia Library.
54. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 vols. and an index, in 2 series, Washington, 1894–1927), Ser. I, Vol. XII, 384–86, 403.
55. *Ibid.,* VI, 82–84, 274, 305; Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks,* I, 88.

56. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (128 books and index, 4 series, Washington, 1880–1901), Ser. I, Vol. VI, 145.
57. *Ibid.*, XIV, 625, 647, 664, 853, 855, 857, 873; XXVIII, Part II, 327, 332.
58. *Ibid.*, XXXV, Part I, 361.
59. *Ibid.*, Part II, 611.
60. *Ibid.*, XLIV, 967.
61. *Ibid.*, 794.
62. *Ibid.*, 808.
63. Jones, Jr., *Georgia Historical Society*, 63.
64. Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks*, I, 88–89.
65. "Pardons by the President," Executive Document, No. 16, in *Executive Documents Printed by Order of the House of Representatives during the Second Session of the Fortieth Congress, 1867–'68* (20 vols., Washington, 1868), 125.
66. Haygood S. Bowden, *Two Hundred Years of Education. Bicentennial, 1733–1933* (Savannah, 1932), 278.
67. Jones, Jr., *Georgia Historical Society*, 31.
68. Harriet Ross Colquitt, *The Savannah Cook Book. A Collection of Old Fashioned Receipts from Colonial Kitchens* (New York, 1933), 174–75.
69. E. F. Campbell, Augusta, to George J. Kollock, Philadelphia, November 27, 1830, in Kollock Collection.
70. Savannah *Morning News*, August 30 (3–1), 1880; Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks*, II, 290.
71. Georgia Historical Society Minute Book, I A, October 4, December 6, 1880.
72. Jones, Jr., *Georgia Historical Society*, 5.
73. Savannah *Morning News*, September 8 (2–4), 1880.
74. *Ibid.*, August 5 (3–3), 1880.
75. *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia . . . January . . . 1875* (Savannah, 1875), 309–10.
76. G. W. J. De Renne's will in Will Book O, Folios 157–60, in Ordinary's Office, in Chatham County Archives, County Courthouse, Savannah.
77. Appraisal of G. W. J. De Renne estate, in File D, No. 305, *ibid.*, See also Savannah *Republican*, July 21, 1863; Augusta *Weekly Chronicle & Sentinel*, August 31 (2–5), 1870.
78. Bowden, *Two Hundred Years of Education*, 278.
79. Gamble, Jr., *Bethesda*, 79. Mrs. De Renne gave $200.
80. Douglas S. Freeman, *A Calendar of Confederate Papers with a Bibliography of Some Confederate Publications . . .* (Richmond, 1908), 501.
81. Wymberley Jones De Renne, *A Short History of the Confederate Constitutions of America, 1861–1899* (Savannah, 1909).

CHAPTER XV

1. Texans are still interested in De Renne's short residence in their state. They remember the aid he gave and the kindness he showed to those who survived a great flood which swept through the San Angelo region on August 24, 1882. Sixty-five lives were lost. The grave of the De Renne child on the ranch is still pointed out as an object of sentimental interest. Letter from Miss Susan Miles, San Angelo, Texas, to Mrs. Craig Barrow, Savannah, Ga., July 20, 1954.
2. The main facts of W. J. De Renne's life are set forth in *Proceedings of the Seventy-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Georgia Historical Society, Including the Address to the Society by Mr. Alexander C. King on Georgia's Influence on the Secession Movement* (Savannah, 1917), 13–15; *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Library*, I, xiii.

3. *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Georgia Historical Society*, 3, 108; *Georgia Historical Society . . . Annals . . . 1916* (Savannah, 1916), 5; Georgia Historical Society Minute Book, No. 7, *passim*.
4. Georgia Historical Society Minute Book, No. 7, p. 135; *Georgia Historical Society Annals, 1916*, pp. 8–9.
5. *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Georgia Historical Society*, 64.
6. *Ibid.*, 80. Thereafter publication of volumes in the *Collections* ceased for many years. In 1917 the Society directed its attention and revenues to publishing the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*. Within recent years the *Quarterly* has been publishing some of the most important of the Society's historical manuscripts, and in 1952 Volume X of the *Collections* was brought out as a reprint of pages from the *Quarterly*. In 1953 the Jackson Papers were published in the *Quarterly*, later to become Volume XI of the *Collections*.
7. *Georgia Historical Society . . . Annals . . . 1915* (Savannah, 1915), 23–25.
8. *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Celebration of the Georgia Historical Society, February 12, 1914* (Savannah, 1914), 2, 3.
9. *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Georgia Historical Society*, 23.
10. Savannah *Morning News*, February 13 (p. 12), 1914.
11. *A History of the Erection and Dedication of the Monument to Gen'l James Edward Oglethorpe, Unveiled in Savannah, Ga., November 23, 1910*, being Volume VII, Part II of *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, 1911), 7.
12. Lavonia (Ga.) *Times*, October 27, 1939; Savannah *Morning News*, June 27, 1916.
13. Leonard L. Mackall, "The Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library," in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, II (1918), 64.
14. *Ibid.*, 65.
15. Telamon Cuyler was another Georgian interested in making a collection of Georgiana. To reduce competition as far as possible, De Renne and Cuyler agreed to divide the field of their primary interests. De Renne made his greatest effort in assembling printed materials, while Cuyler centered on manuscripts. The Telamon Cuyler Collection later came to the University of Georgia through purchase.
16. Lists numbered 1 and 2 are in the Telamon Cuyler Collection, in the University of Georgia Library.
17. It has been surmised that Freeman's work in editing these dispatches awakened his interest in Lee, which led him to write his celebrated biography on the famous Confederate general.
18. *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Library*, I, xv.
19. *Ibid.*, xiv.
20. The article on Noble Jones appeared in Volume I, pages 195–207; the biography of George Jones was in Volume II, pages, 342–44.
21. *Savannah. Compiled and Written by Savannah Unit, Federal Writers' Project in Georgia, Works Project Administration* (Savannah, 1937), 168–69.
22. Savannah *Morning News*, June 27, 1916.
23. *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Library*, I, xiv.
24. Atlanta *Constitution*, June 25, 1916. See also Savannah *Morning News*, June 24, 1916; Savannah *Press*, June 23, 1916; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, June 25, 1916.
25. Georgia Historical Society Minute Book, No. 7, pp. 179–80.
26. W. J. De Renne's will, Box D, Folio 624, in Ordinary's Office, in Archives of Chatham County, County Courthouse, Savannah. As a male heir came to the son's family, the University did not inherit the Library, but in 1938, bought it and moved it to Athens.

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